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SEPTEMBER 5, 1991, 11:40 A.M., MOSCOW





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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE SEPTEMBER 16 1991 VOL. 134 NO. 37

CONTENTS

4 EDITORIAL

6 LETTERS/PASSAGES

12 OPENING NOTES

Pierre Trudeau is named as a new father; the Establishment honors Rick Salazar; bunglers jump on his back; the CBC laughs off Canada's blind lead; Gerald Rivera chooses trout with Margaret Trudeau; Robert Goulet lands a new job; Tristram Parton's Chris Morley increases the stakes; Ontario Alpha's chairman seeks a \$400,000 paycheque.

15 COLUMN/CHARLES GORDON

16 CANADA

Public servants call a nationwide strike that could stop prisons and welfare cheques.

22 WORLD

Gen. Manuel Noriega becomes the first foreign head of state to be brought to justice in a U.S. court.

24 COVER

24 BUSINESS

Newspapers across Canada are seeking ways to appeal to younger readers; U.S. mail-order catalogues are becoming more popular with Canadian consumers.

38 BUSINESS WATCH/PETER C. NEWMAN

40 SPECIAL REPORT

50 SCIENCE

Six crop circle sites have appeared in southern Alberta, revealing debate about an unexplained phenomenon.

51 HEALTH

A psychologist argues that stress and personality are at least as influential as smoking and diet in causing fatal diseases.

55 JUSTICE

A married couple challenges the tax laws that allow tax credits to unmarried people.

56 PEOPLE

58 BOOKS

Margaret Atwood writes a poem to human leeches; Bruce Grayson demonstrates the advantages of being hard to pigeonhole.

60 POTHERINGHAM

COVER

1917-1991: A SUICIDE

In a dramatic postscript to the failed August coup, the Soviet Union ceased to exist. After four days of mass-carnage, the Congress of People's Deputies announced a new 74 years of Moscow-dominated power to the nation's rebellious republics. At the same time, they approved President Mikhail Gorbachev's plan to create an entirely new, decentralized political system. — 24



SPECIAL REPORT

REELING AND DEALING

Movie-makers, film company executives and stars—including Jude Foster, Sophia Loren, Sean Penn, Lily Tomlin and Gus Johnson—are descending on Toronto for North America's largest and most influential showcase for new movies. Our highlight is Little Men Echo. Foster's first work as a director. — 48



CANADA

'PALPABLE HATRED'

Postal workers agreed to suspend their campaign of rotating walk-outs after Ottawa appointed strike mediator Alan Gold, chief justice of the Quebec Superior Court. But Gold still faces the monumental task of reconciling Canada Post and its militant union in order to forge a new contract. — 16



LETTERS

AN OPPORTUNITY SQUANDERED

When I heard the news on Aug. 19 that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev had been ousted from power, my first reaction was rage ("Red is dead," *Cover*, Sept. 2). We, the citizens of the so-called Group of Seven countries, allowed our leaders at the recent G-7 summit to squander an opportunity to promote Gorbachev's visionary political and economic initiatives. Our righteous news outlets spent a long list of excessive columns to a very short list of omgahs and. We absconded the most responsible for ending the Cold War. Maybe we had a bit more to do with the attempted coup than we care to think about.

Steve Ryan,
Stoughton, Ont.



Gorbachev: 'snatched' by G-7 leaders

Kevin Doyle is to be complimented for his July 29 editorial, "The G-7 drops the ball," which pointed out that the summit leaders missed a golden opportunity to not supporting Gorbachev when they laid the chevron. Is it possible that there are those in back the Soviet Union and the West who regard during the coup at the possibility of a return to the Cold War—or worse?

J. G. Graham,
Toronto

INACCURATE STEREOTYPING

While we appreciate the coverage of the People Against the War Budget protest movement, "Protesters' poster play" (*Cover*, Aug. 30) contained numerous inaccuracies, beginning with the headline that distorts the origin and meaning of our group. Of personal concern was the implication that I founded the organization and solely direct its activities. I am a co-organizer and spokesman for the group, but consider myself as one of the "recruited" referred to in your article. Our success at harnessing support against the war budget was the result of tireless commitment by a dozen committed individuals from varied backgrounds. The article suggests that we are a "bunch of fly-by-night poster brokers" angry with lost privileges. Such stereotyping could not be further from the truth. We are mostly young, hardworking individuals with great concerns about the future prospects of spending John McRobb, Co-organizer and spokesperson, *People Against the War Budget*, Toronto

AN AMAZING COMMENT

In "Stepping onto their shoes" (*Opinion*, Sept. 18), you offer a description of the Houston police force's attempts to curb attacks against homosexuals with the com-

ment: "I wonder if you would use similar comments had the police been protecting other minorities by gang and/or cover."

Jim Glone,
Fort Rye, N.Y.

REVEALING A LACK OF TASTE

My wife and I are disgusted with your lack of taste and respect for readers. Your Aug. 30 People story, "A royal flush" shows British Princess of Wales, in a bikini and sun-tan, "Britain's outdoor tabloids." Are you less sensationalistic when you report the police and quote the tabloids' words?

R. D. Saunders,
Camby, B.C.

GOOD COP, BAD COP

Your article "Blackened blue" (*Law*, Aug. 30) lists the major problems involving some members of the Edmonton police force. To be fair, it should be pointed out that a high percentage of officers do their work well and put their lives on the line each shift. We need to hear about people of courage, enthusiasm and professionalism, as well as about the rogues.

Audrey Stevens,
Victoria

PASSAGES

DIED: Academy Award-winning director Frank Capra, 94, at his sleep, at his home in La Quinta, Calif., following several strokes in recent years. The son of Sicilian parents who immigrated to the United States when he was six years old, Capra directed 30 movies between 1937 and 1945, most of them peppy, studio-bound, whimsical American comedies. He won Academy Awards for *It Happened One Night* in 1934, *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* in 1936 and *You Can't Take It With You* in 1938, but he was best known for his 1944 Christmas classic, *It's a Wonderful Life*, starring Jimmy Stewart as a downcast, small-town banker who sees what life would have been like had he not been born.



DIED: Country music singer Dottie West, 55, during an operation for a ruptured liver suffered in a car accident, at a Nashville, Tenn., hospital. The eldest of 15 children in a poor farming family, West began writing songs in 1961. In 1964, she became the first woman of the Grammy award for a female country music vocalist. In 1980, after declining bankruptcy, and the Internal Revenue Service auctioned her belongings under this year.

BORN: To Barbara (Dodd) Murphy, 26, who was the victim of sexual coercion by a July 1960, when she had an abortion after persuading Ontario's Supreme Court to overturn a lower court's injunction obtained by her boyfriend, Gregory Murphy, prohibiting her from undergoing the procedure, a seven-pound, 13-month boy. A

week after the abortion, Dodd announced that she reported her doctors. She married Murphy in March, 1961.

SENTENCED: Wade Webb Holloway, 37, the so-called Pro-Poor Man, to 15 years in prison with a \$10,000 fine, in a Houston jury after being found guilty of plotting to pay a hit man \$2,500 to murder the mother of her 13-year-old daughter and to a high school cheerleader's agent.

DIED: Teresa Mancoski diplomat and writer of the 1982 Nobel Peace Prize. Alfonso Garcia Robles, 85, of Mexico City, Mexico City. Named by the 1963 Nobel Peace Prize, Garcia Robles was the leading architect of the Tlatelcoatl Treaty, signed five years later, banning nuclear weapons from Latin America.

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LETTERS

FIGHTING WORDS

In Peter C Newman's Aug. 19 *Buzz* "Watch column," "How to streamline our defence system," he states that "we probably don't need any" Canadian military colleges. Statements like that demonstrate a lack of knowledge and appreciation of the outstanding record of achievement of ex-cadets in the service of Canada in peace and in war. Their contributions are due to the training, education and personal development that are uniquely provided by our military colleges. And Canada will continue to need the services of this cadre of men and women.

Robert Major-General J. A. Strazat,
President, CSC: Club of Canada,
Kingston, Ont

PAINFUL DECISIONS

I am one of the thousands of Canadians who tend to look after an elderly parent at home ("Mid-life crisis," *Cover*, Aug. 16). The "care-giver crunch" because totally overwhelming and severely affected my health. Home support services are limited in Ontario. In my community, such services offer a maximum of one hour per week, with no nighttimes or weekends. When looking after a relative 24 hours a day, seven days a week, those one hour slots are a drop in the bucket—there are still 158 hours alone.

L.J. McMillen,
New Leno, Ont

Peter Newman recommends that Canada close its three military colleges and combat all other training in civilian universities. As a Royal Military College graduate, and at a time when our national identity is in question, I find it hard to accept the idea of throwing away the fine traditions and contributions of these institutions. The colleges have produced military leaders and military veterans from around the world who wish to see a successful example of unsegregated training. They are leaders in the service that they provide.

Nancy Cady James Gendall,
North Harbour

The decision to give my father into a nursing home was very difficult, I felt guilty, worried, selfish—like I was deserting him. Yes, there are people who feel they must keep loved ones at home, but at what cost?

Mary Lou Griffin,
Richmond Hill, Ont



Soldier: "outstanding record"

BEATING THE ODDS

It is with great interest and pleasure that I read "Lessons in how to survive" (*Cover*, Aug. 10). The following quotation from Brian Mulroney's book *Survival* is particularly telling: "The North American system seldom loses at war." The author goes on to say that a highly paid dictator called a CEO is capable of developing an operation into a prosperous, productive future. But such major colonial operation requires three top roles: a financier, a businessman and a technical expert. Only the technical expert can reliably plan which products should be produced and what equipment will be required in the future. Tomorrow's success, a change is needed in the way CEOs operate.

J. Lefebvre, P. Eng.,
Hamilton

You are to be commended for your Aug. 12 cover package, "Success in hard times." I am glad to see that we still have people in this country who are able to show some initiative, creativity and leadership. However, I cannot share the same enthusiasm for our political leadership.

Jean-Claude Schar,
Ottawa

"Success in hard times" is proof that the concepts of evolution, adaptation and survival of the fittest are valid in the social and economic arenas. Major changes today are generated by geopolitical developments. But what are we doing in Canada? We are trying to settle the peace terms of a battle logic contains ago by the French and British, and at the same time hoping to hold the Free Trade Agreement. What we should be doing is preparing ourselves for the inevitable—the United States of North America.

Edward Dorci,
Toronto

THE REAL MULRONEY

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney should not consider Diane Francis's advice to "roll up his sleeves, and his tie and shove in the genuine article" to be of any great value ("Advice for an unpopular prime minister," *Covers*, Aug. 5). What affects a whole lot of

Francis is what he does, not how he presents himself while doing it. Besides, most of us who have seen his relaxed side like it even less than the stiff side.

Jan Marchant,
Victoria

I was pleasantly shocked by Diane Francis's Aug. 5 column. One rarely sees a political journalist cut through the petty personal attacks on Brian Mulroney and provide actual insight into the man's motives and behavior. I repeat my argument that Mulroney-looking is a result of objective consideration. *Survival* shows that in almost all key facets of Canadian life, we are better off now than in 1984.

Carmon Baffey,
Ottawa

Diane Francis thinks that Brian Mulroney has been a good prime minister. I have had plenty of opportunity to watch him in action. Bottom line in spite of the merits of multipointism in the March 1984 election and the GST, their delivery was generally inept. Could it be that Francis has succumbed to his Irish charm?

Alan Pelletier,
Scarborough, Ont

Diane Francis is right on one point: it takes a special kind of person to make the "tough decisions." Unfortunately, she forgets that

equally, or even more, important is the ability to make the right decision. That Mulroney may be self-destructing is the best news I have heard in a long time. However, he seems determined to take the rest of us with him.

Jon Ottman,
Ottawa

I was impressed by Diane Francis's defence of Brian Mulroney. He happens to agree with his stated on free trade, the GST and the March 1984 election, and goes on to make an impassioned plea on his behalf for understanding and respect. But what about the majority of Canadians—well over 50 per cent—who happen to oppose those three items? To deliver her line of argument, he has everything to be achieved and is rightly maligned.

Niles J. Scott,
Edmonton

RETHINKING MANURE

Your Opening Note concerning the funding of manure cleanup for the Ottawa city police mounted patrol made no mention of the potential fertilizing value of the offensive byproduct ("Notes" takes its own course," Aug. 5). If this fact were widely known to the citizens of Ottawa, there might not be any need for cleanup.

Julia McKeown,
Burlington, Ont

muertal En que Se comene toco lo que del mundo Se ha defaibierro agora, husola Diego Ribero cofinographo de Su magestad: Año de 15



It's been five hundred years since Corte Real discovered Canada. Don't you think we owe him a visit?

In 1472 Corte Real's intrepid crew of Portuguese explorers braved the uncharted waters of the Atlantic to discover the coast of Canada. Fortunately it's a far simpler matter for you to return across the ocean and discover today's Portugal. ¶ It's a surprising



blend of old and new. Today's explorers can stay in modern luxury hotels, or choose the old-world charm of "Pousadas," hotels often situated in magnificent historical buildings. ¶ Let your travel agent arrange for you to visit the home of Corte Real. Portugal, discover it first. **portugal**

OPENING NOTES

Pierre Trudeau fathers a daughter, Peter Kormos condemns a colleague, and Chris Haney ups the ante

A CHILD OF THE TIMES

For more than a year, Canadian political and media elites buzzed with rumors of a romance between former prime minister Pierre Trudeau and fellow lawyer Deborah Coyne, Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells's constitutional adviser. The elusive Trudeau, 71, who has been nicknamed "rumsen brother" in politics, and Coyne, 36, whom observers describe as "very intense and serious," were both strong opponents of the failed Meech Lake constitutional accord. After the unmarried Coyne gave birth to a daughter, Sarah Elizabeth, on May 3, the *Toronto Globe and Mail* decided to pursue the rumors further. Those efforts bore fruit last week as the newspaper reported that Sarah Elizabeth's birth certificate names Trudeau as the father. Said a senior editor at the *Globe*, who requested anonymity: "[We] lived a legal fire to do the search." But Coyne, who lives in St. John's, and Trudeau, who lives in Montreal, declined comment. But at week's end, the author said: "We have had, as far as I know, no comment."



Coyne in May, 1990: intense and serious

Standoff in the winner's circle

Canadian playwright and journalist Rick Salutin is an outspoken advocate of the country's labor movement and other left-leaning causes. As a result, many of the people who attended its recent ball last week to announce the winners of the 1991 Toronto Arts Awards were surprised by the choice of Salutin as winner in the writing and publishing category. The sponsor of the \$5,000 award, the sponsor also receives a stack of art worth \$1,000 in a favorite target of the left wing—Canada Post Corp. Salutin's representative of the corporation, Douglas Long, "Maybe he appreciated a little bit being honored by the establishment; he's been criticized." But Salutin, who wore a knicker and wicker hat to the occasion at

Toronto's city hall, declared: "I just hope that they had nothing to do with organizing that. They're such busy managers."



Salutin no award from the Establishment

BACKBREAKING THERAPY

Chiropractors across Canada have threatened hangings jumping on bad for backs. And the Canadian Chiropractic Association considers the matter serious enough to discuss it at its executive directors' meeting on Sept. 28 in Fredericton. But some hangover enthusiasts disagree. Said Gregory Brown, manager of the Rungo Rungo, a 140-foot bridge in Nanaimo, B.C., where more than 16,000 people this year have paid \$100 to take the plunge: "There are some people who started jumping with bad backs who are now cured. It can be therapeutic."

Enjoying the last laugh

Canadians, sometimes accused of being bland and boring, have usually been able to laugh off the charge. And *CBC Radio's Morning Show* program recently invited listeners to contribute jokes about their outlandish images. Some responses: How do you get 20 Canadian out of a swimming pool? Say, "G'morn, guys, out of the pool!" or What is the difference between people leaving East Germany and people leaving Saskatchewan in East Germany, at least there are trains. *Montreal's* producer Sam Jenkins said that the best jokes are "the understated ones" that only Canadians could appreciate.

CONQUEST IN CENTRAL PARK

In a newly released autobiography, outgoing TV talk-show host Canada's Rivers says that he had a torrid, sex-filled weekend with Margaret Trudeau, then the estranged wife of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, during a bar so-called "with on the wild side" in the late 1970s. Rivers, 48, writes in his book, *Expanding Myself*, that he first met Trudeau at Studio 54, already Manhattan disco, where he says that he noticed that she was not wearing panties under her short dress. The next day, writes Rivers, Trudeau "sat me down to the same kind of state" while they went on to a weekend in a resort in Central Park. In his 1981 autobiography, *Conquest*, Trudeau, 43, who is now married to Ontario real-estate consultant Fred Krieger, writes about her sexual experiences during the same period with various celebrities, but Rivers is not among them. Rivers said that Trudeau was such a good lover that he considered leaving his wife. He writes: "She was like a housewife who had run off with the gyppies." But Michael Lerner, her lawyer, issued a denial: "She has no intention of pursuing any action or making any further statement against such scurrilous, self-promoting untruths."



Trudeau's untruths



Rivers: a tryst with Trudeau?

A NEW POSTING FOR AN OLD HAND

Former Tory defense minister Robert Coates decides opposition alone that petrochemicals led to his recent appointment to the Canadian International Trade Tribunal. Coates, 63, resigned from cabinet in 1982 following revelations that he met a stripper in a German nightclub on a tour of a Canadian Forces base. In 1983, he left politics altogether. Now, he will earn about \$700,000 a year on the tribunal, while continuing to collect his \$43,000-a-year parliamentary pension. Said the former News Canada star: "Anytime you are involved in the Conservative party as I have been for so many years, they will say it's petrochemicals." He adds: "People will have to decide for themselves, but I have worked as lawyer, politician, cabinet minister and businessman—and am qualified."

Grassroots get greener

Maclean's Ontario Branch's new chairman, a 46-year-old salary-hungry, deeply distrustful of energy at a salary of about \$135,000, Brown, wanted the Hydro post as a move Hydro spokesman Robert Taylor says that the most likely for chairman of the Crown corporation is at the \$400,000 range—about 75 per cent of a private-sector salary for a similar position. But some rank-and-file New Democrats say that is too much. Former MP cabinet minister Peter Rowen called Brown's proposed salary "ridiculous." But Krieger, when Ontario Premier Bob Rae fired in 1985 after he found fully clothed in the "Sunshine Revue" in the Toronto Sex. "I don't know if we have enough to pay for these kinds of appetites." And Rae said that he will investigate the issue. The pension added: "I can assure the public that I don't make \$400,000 a year."



Krieger, above: conservative

No trivial pursuit

The co-founder of Trivial Pursuit is still playing with big bucks. As co-owner of the Devil's Pulpit golf course



Haney: nipping the puns

near Toronto, where this week's *Nissan Canadian Tournament Players' Championship* will be held, Chris Haney has turned a modest Canadian golf event into a high-stakes free-for-all. The total purse is \$150,000—\$27,000 for first place. But Haney has added \$150,000 of his own for the winner. "Spending it out," he said, "would have been like killing your client."



Getting close to nature.

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ANOTHER VIEW



A courageous answer to a tough question

BY CHARLES GORDON

While the people of the Soviet Union were fighting to preserve the fragile existence of their infant democracy, what were we doing in what used to be known as the Free World—back when we had a monopoly on freedom?

Well, free people believe in a lot of ways, since they are free to do so. In Ottawa, we were racing across the border to shop in the United States. In British Columbia, we were paying \$95 for one jump off a 140-foot tower, crowding on something called a lounge boat to keep us from hitting bottom. A conservative think-tank, the Fraser Institute, was researching that food banks, thought by some to be regrettable symbols of Canadian society's failure to eliminate poverty, were not to be regretted at all. "Food banks are not a problem, but evidence of good citizenship," said the institute. The 30-per-cent increase in food-bank usage in Ontario was "at least in part due to the fact that if groups give away food, more and more people will show up looking for it."

In the United States, free people were jumping off a trampoline, straight into a Velocore-covered wall in a nightclub and hoping to stick. "The trick," according to a new service report, "is to hit the wall as the rule." There was no charge for jumping at a Velocore-covered wall. In a Milwaukee courtroom, a jury convicted the lead singer of a group called Tiger Lilies of disorderly conduct. An account of the trial says that the singer "dedicated on-stage and sexual comments to his audience." The jury rejected the singer's defense, which was based on artistic freedom. This prompted the singer to denounce the jury as "a bunch of narrow-minded, robotic puppets of society."

In Moscow, while the Soviets wobbled with their confidence in the aftermath of the coup attempt, liberalized continued of a mother charged with trying to have a bit more to tell the mother of her daughter's classmate died, so as to give her daughter a better chance to make the team.

Would you give up your freedom for a higher standard of living? Would we trade liberty for VCRs, go for the vote or the CD player?

In the United Kingdom, birthplace of parliamentary democracy, a free man paid more than \$50,000 for two pieces of a guitar smashed by Jim Hendrix. Another collector paid \$150,000 for a black sequined jacket once worn by Michael Jackson.

Not all was greed, stupidity and selfishness in the fading democracies of the West. Olympic athletes were leaving their children, people were going to church, saying art galleries, giving to charity, volunteering, helping out another. Millions were watching and playing baseball, and thousands were reading the new Elmore Leonard novel. But there was the nagging feeling in that week that while Soviet citizens were celebrating freedom, we were giving freedom a bad name.

There was also a sense that while liberty was being made in the Soviet Union, we in the Western democracies were being more aggressive, setting and watching the struggle for democracy, perhaps arriving ourselves to tape parts of it. There is a hint to how much guilt we should feel, of course. We have won our fight for democracy, to a large extent, some of the struggle now being waged in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is to get to the point where we are now.

Where we are now in Canada is trying to get a constitutional wording formula. We have been working on the basic version since 1987. In Germany, the Berlin Wall came down and unification of two nations, bitter Cold War antagonists, was achieved in less than a year. Clearly, the longer one lives with freedom, the more one's sense of urgency about such things declines, perhaps because there are more distractions. In British Columbia, the bungee jumpers who paid \$95, plus tax, to plunge off a bridge could purchase a videotape of the moment for \$45.

Remember that the ability of freedom alone to keep people happy is limited. In the months before the attempted coup, Mikhail Gorbachev faced bitter opposition at home because the economy wasn't working and the only things not in short supply were loaves. It was that fact that gave the coup leaders hope. The Soviet people, it was reasoned, wouldn't stand a downturn in the expansion of their political rights if they could find more consumer items on the shelves. It goes without saying that the people of the Soviet Union demonstrated unambiguously how wrong the coup leaders were, taking to the streets with the coup collapsed. But there has always been a paradoxical side to the appeal of liberty. VCRs and jeans were very much in the minds of some of the people who obeyed freedom's call in those heady early-morning days of 1989.

The question may never be answered: Would you give up your freedom for a higher standard of living for the nation of the Soviet Union, the lack of political freedom and the lack of economic choice went together. For us, the choice has never had to be made.

You do wonder, though, in this bungee-jumping age, how we would stand if asked to trade liberty for VCRs. In Moscow, when it appeared that Gorbachev was finished, a reporter found a university professor who said, "I'm very happy. Finally, there will be order." Hearing him, we are made uncomfortable because we wonder how we would stand if we were walking around in the professor's poorly made shoes. Would we go for the vote or the CD player?

No one ever puts it to us quite that way, of course. Throughout history, the people who would deprive us of our liberty have been considerably more sophisticated. The issue was never that our liberty was being threatened, but that some evil, unfeeling group was being released in order to preserve the freedom of the majority, to maintain order. Since the invention of the War Measures Act, which Canadians overwhelmingly supported, according to the polls of the day, when it was used to throw innocent people into jail without charge in 1970.

Why, we asked in the days leading up to the Soviet coup, couldn't the Soviet people have been a bit more thankful for democracy? We know now that they were, although their gratitude may benefit someone other than Gorbachev. It leaves the question, When our freedom is challenged from within, and not inevitably will be, will we be able to stop sleeping long enough to fight back?

Charles Gordon is a columnist with The Ottawa Citizen.

'PALPABLE HATRED'

**AFTER 13 DAYS
OF WALKOUTS,
OTTAWA APPOINTS
A MEDIATOR TO
INTERVENE IN
THE POSTAL FEUD**

The issue problem in this union. Fixed with change, it does not know what to do. Instead of working with us to effect the changes in a manageable way, it simply floods the system with grievances in a desire to stop everything from changing.

—Gilles Courville, corporate manager, labor relations, Canada Post Corp.

Management is the fundamental problem. The style is unhealthy. They want to regulate everything, even the number of flowers we are allowed to go to the toilet. They treat their railroaders as slaves and they expect us to live their unrealistic dreams. It really has created a horrible climate.

—Richard Forget, president, Montreal local, Canadian Union of Postal Workers

The gulf is wide at the Crown agency that handles, processes and delivers the vast bulk of Canada's mail. Postal managers and postal workers are separated by much more than the contractual dispute that brought the mail slower to a standstill until the appointment of a federal mediator late last week resulted in a respite—though possibly temporary—of normal service. Canada Post's management views the 45,000-member Canadian Union of Postal Workers as, in the words of corporation vice-president Richard Dumas, "a disease." Many members of the union, in turn, clearly suspect national president Jean-Claude Parrot's oft-stated contention that CUWP is engaged not only in a struggle over wages and jobs, but in an "ideological" confrontation with an "arrogant, overbearing and dictatorial" management team. As federal Labor Minister Marcel Deneau noted last week in an opposition's conductor: "There is such palpable hatred that the two

Gold: he insisted on a return to work



sides can only talk now through intermediaries."

The man selected by Dumas as mediator, Quebec Superior Court Chief Justice Alan Gold, 74, made a return to work a precondition for taking on the job. Both sides expressed satisfaction with the appointment, and work resumed in less than 24 hours. Gold, the formerly litigious son of a Montreal clothing manufacturer, carries impeccable credentials for the difficult task at hand. He was called in to help end the armed confrontation with Quebec Militaires at Oka last year and he has settled numerous labor disputes in the past, including a bitter 42-day postal strike in 1981 by 33,000 CUWP members.

"He is a very skilled mediator and he has a good record of success," said Dumas. Parrot echoed the view, saying that Gold's participation eased the union's fears that the mediator effort was not sincere. Declared Parrot: "We doubt that Mr. Gold would accept to be part of any process which is only a charade to act the stage for legislation which would remove our right to negotiate."

In return to work, the union noted 13 days of striking which had crippled the mail service. On the day before Gold's appointment, postal workers were on strike at 489 centres across the country in the most widespread walkouts of the entire dispute. The suspension of service brought some relief to those who have suffered most as a result of the strikes—passengers, the unemployed, neither requests and others with government cheques tapped in the mail. The cheer was short-lived, however, when it became apparent that some payments were once again jeopardized—by it, a self-service strike (page 18).

Still, the mediator was unlikely to be able to negotiate a speedy and permanent end to the post office confrontation. Management and labor remained far apart on several major contractual issues. For letter carriers and mail workers, the union wants the average hourly wage of \$14.41—which has remained the same since the last contract, expired in 1989—raised by a total of 30 per cent to \$17.31 by July 1993. But management,

which says that the current average wage totals about \$17.95 (with benefits are included), has offered an 11.5 per cent increase in the base wage (to \$16.66 in 1993). Even more difficult is the union's desire to convert existing part-time and casual labor into 3,700 new full-time jobs. Management wants to trim the labor force or, at the very least, ensure that job expansion will be achieved in reversing "job security is the basic issue," claimed the Montreal local's Forget. "We want to get rid of the system where part-timers, without union benefits, are constantly being used to take the jobs of full-time workers with union benefits."

But beyond the immediate contractual issues, deeper problems are more likely to give Gold his greatest difficulties in attempting to resolve the dispute. Behind the postman relationship between Canada Post's management and the militant membership of CUWP is a profound disagreement over the fundamental principles that the corporation will pursue in coming years.

For his part, labor relations manager Courville, who has been the corporation's chief negotiator during the protracted contract negotiations, claims that the union is standing in the way of necessary change. Still, Courville "Management has been trying to introduce a new philosophy and new technology that will allow us to better serve our clients, compete with our competitors and, hopefully, make a profit at the same time." He pointed to attempts to introduce computerized video mail sorting as well as the restructuring of retail service outlets as signs of the new trend. "But every time we try to discuss these things with CUWP's national executive, the response has been to file a grievance," Courville complained. "There is now a backlog of around 150,000 grievances in the industrial sector."

The view from the union is almost the mirror opposite. "We have engaged against new solutions which will improve service to the public and improve conditions for all post office workers," said Forget. "But what we cannot accept is management's continued refusal to deal with us on a reasonable basis." He accused management of pursuing an unsound and unsound policy, claiming that there is harassment of workers over sick leave and a host of similar incidents.

At some other union meetings, both past and present, support that position. "This strike is just externalizing what happens at the post office day in and day out," said Nancy Mitt, who quit his job in a Toronto letter carrier in 1990 because of what he claimed were abusive tensions between management and union. Robert William MacDonald, 68, who for 25 years has worked as a letter carrier in Edmonton: "They seem to want all employees to be on full-time. They harass sick workers, abuse the contract." Whatever the accuracy of the complaints levelled by management and workers, they underwrite the poisoned atmosphere at Canada Post—and the enormous challenges facing mediator Alan Gold.

BARRY CAME is Montreal

National Issues

PLEADING FOR A NEW TRIAL

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney named Justice Minister Jean Chrétien to lead the inquiry into the 1978-79 trial of the man who shot and killed a woman. Mulroney said that he would not ask for a new trial for her son, David Milgaard, 38, imprisoned for life in 1978 for a murder that he insists did not commit. The mother filed with Mulroney's cabinet a pleading, both where he was to go and told that her son was in the verge of losing his mind in prison.

SCHOOL TRAGEDY

On the first day of school, a 10-year-old boy was killed in a school bus accident in Cranston, N.B., southeast of Calgary. Killed two children and the bus driver. A tanker truck crashed into the bus while it was stopped at a frequency traffic light in a construction zone.

CRIMINAL RESTRAINT

Ontario Premier Bob Rae said that his New Democratic Party government, elected a year ago, will have to live with spending restraint. He said that the government's budget last April that increased spending by 13 per cent and projected a record deficit of \$8.7 billion.

A NIGHT OF HONOUR

The trial of convicted murderer Allan Leggett, 43, an inmate on parole of murder, continued in Boston, N.B. Taking the stand: New Plan, 63, who on May 20, 1989, was raped and murdered by a masked assailant who also murdered Anne Marie, 28, her sister-in-law. Leggett could not stand Leggett, who escaped from prison three weeks before the verdict, as her assailant.

PROMISING PROTECTION

Ontario Justice Minister Ken Campbell announced that he will table legislation next month to help protect rape victims from having their sexual history questioned in court. Last month, the Supreme Court of Canada struck down similar legislation in the province that at times, no evidence is relevant to the accused's defence. Campbell said that the new law would comply with the court's ruling.

ASKING THE PEOPLE

Soon to be announced provincial elections in Saskatchewan and British Columbia will be accompanied by referendums. B.C. voters will be asked whether they want the power to recall MPPs and the right to launch referendums on specific policies. In Saskatchewan, the public will vote on whether the government should have the authority to legislate regarding balanced budgets and seek public approval of constitutional changes.



Been distributing information leaflets no strikes in the current year

Target: Ottawa

The federal public service calls a strike

As a clearly related Labor Minister Marcel Dugas announced a three-day postal strike last week, another labor dispute moved into the foreground. In Winnipeg, angry demonstrators, many of them federal public servants upset at the government's decision to freeze their salaries this year, swarmed around Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's motorcade as it approached a hotel where he was to make a speech. Protesters pelted Mulroney's limousine with their pots of urine, spit at his window, swore at him and gestured wildly with their fingers—but the Prime Minister only smiled and waved back. Once inside the hotel, Mulroney joked that he had become accustomed to mild protests and dismissed the demonstrators as "rather small." Then, he sent a clear message to leaders of the 125,000-member civil-service union, the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC): his government is determined to stand firm in its February legislative decisions to cut spending on the rest of civil service. Said Mulroney in his speech to local Conservatives: "Popularity is not what matters. Principle and consistency is defence of principle is what matters."

Disaffection with the Tories' stand boiled over the following day. PSAC president Daryl

Been announced that a general public-service strike would begin this week, on Monday, Sept. 9. "Our members realize that if we don't take a stand now, we will be open to further wage cuts and job losses," Beas declared. Even before that announcement, some union members had already taken to the picket lines in spontaneous walkouts in Vancouver, Edmonton, Ottawa, Windsor, London and Scarborough. Get in response, Treasury Board President Gilles Lavoie warned that the government would not back down on its announced policy to freeze wages this year and limit raises to three per cent in 1993 and 1994. Said Lavoie: "The population of Canada expects the government to take these difficult decisions." Lavoie also indicated that Ottawa could recall him before the scheduled Sept. 16 convening of Parliament to legislate the strikers back to work. The government, he mentioned, would "take the corrective measures that are necessary."

But many PSAC members clearly see a strike as a means of proving their demands. Last week, as 200 picketing PSAC members slowly crept in front of a gray government building on Ottawa's Somerset Street before the official strike call, strike captain Donald Beland leaped out at the government's restraint policy. Beland, a strongly built, bearded plumber with 24

years' experience—and hence in work as a welder, machinist and heating technician—noted that his wage is \$17.47 an hour, compared with the unskilled wage of \$24.08 an hour for a plumber employed by a private-sector company. Said the disgruntled Beland: "It is not normal for taxes to go up, plus the Goods and Services Tax, and for us to have no raise at all. It used to be that we had job security, but now new people hired do not even have that now. It's the pits."

About 45,000 PSAC personnel—roughly one-third of the members—are designated essential workers and cannot walk off the job. They include prison guards, airport firefighters and customs officials. But customs officials can still tie up traffic at border crossings by working strictly to federal rules. And a full-blown public-service strike will have wide repercussions across the country. Those in a legal position to strike include secretaries, some hospital workers, clerks, laborers, government program administrators—some well equipped for processing passport applications and benefit cheques for seniors and the unemployed. Last week, the government offered assurances that cheques would continue to be sent out and that passports would be processed with only slight delays. But Beas was blunt about the effects of a strike. Said the PSAC president: "While I don't want to see senior citizens' cheques delayed, there will be some delays. While I don't want to see the unemployed not getting their cheques for 30 or 41 weeks, it is going to happen."

Still, Lavoie says that support for the strike is weak among most public-sector workers and that they understand the need to keep salary increases to a minimum. Said Lavoie: "If the government doesn't tackle the financial problem, it won't be a question of ours and three per cent—it will mean jobs. We won't be able to pay them anymore."

Others, though, say that the government's priorities are unavoidable. A joint government-union coordination board made up of one PSAC member, a Treasury Board official and an independent member, recommended in July that 80,000 clerks, secretaries, data processors and office-support operations discontinue a wage-cut plan this year. "Public servants are entitled to a fair and equitable wage-and-benefits package," the report stated, adding: "If the government imposes its promised legislation, we anticipate that this group of employees will fall further behind in relation to their private-sector counterparts." But such recommendations are not binding. And with both sides vowing not to back down, pensioners and unemployed workers whose cheques were delayed in the mail strike may have seen just the beginning of their problems.

NANCY WOOD in Ottawa

IF WE CAN'T FIND A
WAY TO LIVE
WITHOUT THE CAR,
WE'D BETTER
FIND A CAR WE CAN
LIVE WITH.

A CAR COMPANY WITH A CONSCIENCE?

After years of trumpeting its virtues, it's time a car company faced up to the car's darker side.

Cars have been involved in 4,221 fatalities this year alone. (Of course, drunk drivers must take much of the blame.) Cars, along with many other products, threaten the future of the planet. And despite the fact that they cost more each year, cars still break down.

But admitting the problems isn't solving the problems.

Let's take safety first. Last year alone, Nissan in-



vested over \$2 billion in research and development. From airbags to air conditioning. (An uncomfortable driver is an unsafe driver.)

In addition, no other import offers Anti-Lock Brakes (ABS) on a broader range of cars. Not just on our high-end sedans, but our compact economy cars as well.

We believe that you

shouldn't have to be rich burn less fuel than ever before. But herein lies the

We also believe auto-typical Nissan paradox: mobile manufacturers while this year's Sentra must be environmentally uses 4.2% less fuel than the 1990 Sentra, it delivers

Every Nissan dealer in 22% more horsepower. Canada now recycles 100%. Responsibility can be of the front (CFC-12) in our fun. Lots of fun air conditioners.

Nissan is introducing fun. So we're introducing the world's first mass-produced the Nissan Satisfaction electric car. Commitment. It's the

And this year's Nissan's most comprehensive full-

line customer care program in Canada.

Six-year warranties against major component failure, rust perforation and harmful emissions.

Three-year complete vehicle warranty and emergency roadside assistance. And a 24-hour toll-free Helpline.

We believe it's about time companies took responsibility for the

products they sell. This may be why the Nissan Sentra is the only car ever to win the CAA's Pyramid two years in a row for reliability and customer satisfaction.

In terms of sales, Nissan is number four in the world. But in terms of automotive awards collected this decade, Nissan is number one.

Maybe the old moralists were right after all: having a conscience does have its rewards.



BUILT FOR THE HUMAN RACE



Two of Noriega's daughters in Miami trying to enhance the White House

WORLD

THREAT OF 'THE BEAST'

Only 28 months ago, the White House oriented him as an internal threat. He was flown from office during an invasion of his country by 25,000 U.S. troops and routed from his last sanctuary in the Vatican's Pontefical embassy by an airborne attack of Marine helicopters. But last week, former Panamanian leader Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega stood on the defendant's table at Miami's federal district courthouse officially designated a prisoner of war—and largely ignored. But the 300-seat courtroom was empty as Noriega appeared nervously in his dark, striped white general's uniform for jury selection. Beside the red-carpeted courtroom's massive

REVELATIONS IN THE TRIAL OF MANUEL NORIEGA THREATEN TO DAMAGE GEORGE BUSH AND THE CIA

chandeliers, a handful of prospective jurors actually fell asleep during Judge William Norwick's reading of the 20-count indictment that charges Noriega with drug trafficking, money laundering and taking \$5.2 million in bribes between 1981 and 1985, when he allegedly turned Panama into a convenience centre for the Colombian cocaine cartel.

Federal grand jurors in Florida first indicted Noriega, now 52, in February 1986. If convicted, he could face a maximum prison sentence of 143 years and \$1.7 million in fines. But last week, with his wife, Ethelwood, and three daughters in the courtroom, the hard-nosed Christian who once belted at reporters appeared surprisingly calm. Expected to last at least six months, the trial may produce a series of revelations that, as Noriega himself threatened, would leave President George Bush "like a tank American flag blown to pieces by an Atlantic wind."

Not only does the one crack the late fate that allowed him of state has been taken to trial as a U.S. court, but also Noriega's private defence strategy rests on his claim that for two decades he was "the CIA's man in Panama." He maintains that in that role, he controlled a \$13-billion clandestine agency trade. For the White House, the lack of attention to the trial provides temporary relief from constraints by Noriega that could tarnish Bush's soaring popularity in advance of next year's presidential election. Said Laurence Rieff, director of Washington's Council on Hemispheric Affairs: "So far, the revelations are capable of contracting like lightning bolts Bush, but not vice versa."

But if the trial drags on into the pre-election period, a "boom" in support in the hands of the Democrats.

Last week, even before jury selection began, the government launched its own pre-arrest strategy. Prosecutors announced that the last of Noriega's original 25 indictments to enter a plea began. Panamanian pilot Daniel Miranda, pleaded guilty to money-laundering charges. That arrangement will likely reduce Noriega's sentence, restore his pilot's licence and reward him with a U.S. visa to return to his agreement to testify against the former dictator, who will stand trial alone.

Miranda's decision seemed to strengthen a growing public impression that the trial has become increasingly weighted against Noriega—a perception that the general stands to try to reinforce as part of his defence. In documents submitted recently, prosecutors acknowledged paying \$1.7 million to six private witnesses, including former drug dealers, to obtain information as the former Panamanian strongman.

"His money, what makes them pay for people to testify," said Noriega's lawyer, Frank Rizzo, a frequent defender of drug traffickers, outside the courtroom. "If I even buy up what Noriega's doing as a Co-Caño, it's considered obstruction of justice."

Rizzo also stated procedures with a private media—which the judge was considering—alleging that Noriega's original Miami lawyer, Raymond Taft, had betrayed his client. Rizzo charged that Taft, who resigned as Noriega's counsel following a 1989 house attack, had been representing the general against the justice department at the same time that he was secretly acting as a government agent in another case. But prosecutors argued Noriega acted as a foreign agent in Panama at the time, Noriega had no U.S. constitutional rights to privacy. But even after he was in U.S. custody in a two-room basement cell in Miami's Metropolitan Correctional Center—harassment with filing cabinets of classified documents, a paper shredder and his favorite Otto codes—the government reindicted Noriega. And as tapes leaked to the Atlanta-based Cable News Network proved, it even tapped his phone calls to lawyers, which are privileged under the provisions of the U.S. Constitution.

Still, Rieff's notion underscored Judge Haines' difficulty in awarding a fair trial for Noriega, who allegedly conspired to evade U.S. trade sanctions against Cuba with that country's Communist president, Fidel Castro. 38, who is, in fact, a city whose House president counts largely of Castro-linked Cuban exiles. To find an unbiased jury, the court sent 1,280

Miami residents a questionnaire last month, asking among other things if they had ever been employed by Israel's Mossad intelligence agency or Nicaragua's contra rebels. They watched the TV news show 60 Minutes or Nightline and if they had ever heard of Noriega, Bush and Ronald Reagan. But even that warning process failed to exclude biased opinions. Some respondents replied that they thought Noriega should be hanged. And last week, one of the first of the prospective jurors turned out to be the wife of a Panamanian human-rights activist, who stood up in court and denounced Noriega as a "dictator" of human rights.

In fact, the questionnaire indicated the extent of the tangled web of conspiracies in which Noriega could shed light. The judge asked it at a time when controversy again revolved around Bush's role in the 1986 invasion of the island, which is the National Security Council aide Lt. Col. Oliver North and other Reagan administration officials secretly travelled across, fought with the proceeds from U.S. weapons sales to him, to the Nicaraguan rebels. As Bush points out, Bush himself was director of the CIA in 1976 and 1977 when Noriega was on its payroll a scheme that earned Noriega a report of \$385,000 from various U.S. intelligence agencies over 30 years.

Noriega's trial may also reopen debate about the Bush-backed invasion of Panama, which the President said was intended to restore democracy to the Central American country and end its role as a way station for the cocaine trade. Over the past year, several U.S. agencies have reported that corruption in Panama increased, but the flow of narcotics has grown as well. Said the Council on Hemispheric Affairs' Rieff, "There's very little democracy there today, and the drug trade is booming."

In fact, Rieff noted that analysis of the Bush administration may well wish that they had never brought Noriega back to Miami, arrested and humiliated, for trial. As the master dictator wanted a role in his lawyers after ending himself exiled and indicted. "The beast is going to defeat itself." But some analysts say that if Noriega's revelations turn out to be true, the government could quickly arrange a plea bargain and deport him from the country—well before the November 1992 presidential election.

MARC McDONALD in Washington

World Notes

A POWER-SHARING PROPOSAL
South Africa President F. W. de Klerk proposed a new constitution that would give blacks the vote for the first time. But the blueprint drew black majority outright power by calling for a majority presidency at the top and weighted votes at the local level to favor property owners and taxpayers. Nelson Mandela's African National Congress denounced the proposal as "a recipe for disaster" because it protects the white minority's privilege.

DEMOCRATIC HOPEFULS
The race for the 1992 Democratic presidential nomination warmed up as former two-term California governor Edmund (Jerry) Brown, 53, who carried the maverick Governor Moscone for his maverick style of leadership, announced that he was forming "a new party" to replace his chances of winning. House Speaker Robert Kennedy, 46, a decorated Vietnam veteran, said that he would make public his decision on whether to run later this month. And in Washington, the only declared Democratic candidate, former Massachusetts senator Paul Tsongas, 56, called for a "new Marshall Plan" to aid the Soviet Union.

KEEPING THE PEACE
In Western Sahara, 58 Canadian soldiers, the first of 700 Canadians in a 2,800-member UN peacekeeping force, began mounting a counterforce in the 15-year war between Morocco and insurgent Polisario guerrillas. Veterans in the former Spanish colony will decide in a January referendum whether to become independent or integrate with Morocco.

CUBAN OPPOSITION
Following the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union, eight Cuban dissident and human-rights organizations in Havana announced that they had formed an opposition group to organize protests for political and economic reforms.

HONG KONG AGREED
In Beijing, British Prime Minister John Major was agreed on the formation of a Hong Kong court of final appeal, which he called "an important safeguard of judicial independence" when the British rule ends on July 1, 1997. Major also signed an accord with China allowing work to proceed on a new airport in the colony, a project designed to restore faith in Hong Kong's future. He is the latest senior Western leader to have visited the Chinese Communist side on pre-independence discussions in 1995.

1917-1991: A SUICIDE

no matter what misfortunes may still be in store for it, our Republic of Soviet is certain

—Vladimir Lenin, Aug. 30, 1918

We made them the perfect enemy, a nation of hordes, grim, knar-barked people whose leaders lured up each year over Lenin's tomb to grovel over a parade of beaming weaponry and soul-crushing fear through the West. They had gulags, Siberia, the atom. Their legislators voted "de" with an same show of hands,

apochryphal warnings with the Communist tide. Hollywood proved of the Soviet stereotype: mostly checked, less seized, speaking in sinister accents that a more cutesy sounded almost Geymanic, as if one among were as good as another. The Russians were coming, hell-bent on world domination. Their nuclear might sent schoolchildren scurrying for bomb shelters stocked with dehydrated milk and grapes. Outside Ottawa at Camp, Ont., the government of Prime Minister John Diefenbaker built an elaborate underground headquarters, dubbed the Diefenbunker, to protect officials when the missiles began to rain. The Soviets were the collective nightmare of a generation. Now, they are history—three eras discredited, their country dismembered, their descendants, their Iron Curtain destined to seem so distant to today's newborn Canadians as Hitler's mountain-top dens to their parents.

Surrender: Gone. That country. That world. And the end seemed strangely anticlimactic, the inevitable aftermath of the real action. The August coup began with a hard-line hammerback on the central government and broke up three days later with the conspirators imprisoned and their Communist cause dead, if not buried. It was all as dramatic—and so neatly packaged in a single week, like a TV miniseries—that what followed unfolded like an epilogue: "Only two weeks later, on Sept. 5, 1991," the words across the screen would say, "the Soviet legislative voted to surrender power to a new republic-controlled government, which in turn recognized the independence of the three Baltic states. The old Soviet Union had ceased to exist."

Television, in fact, is part of the reason for the odd destination of such momentous events. TV not only brings the world into countless living rooms, it creates an appetite for

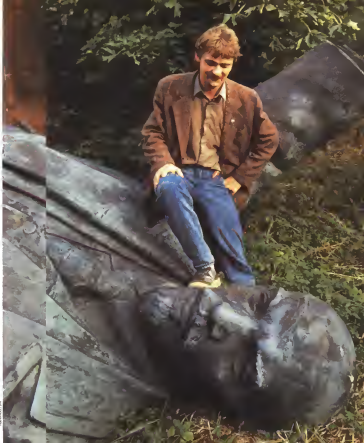
ever more dramatic fare. And over the past few years, there has been plenty of high-speed drama. The Chinese freedom movement of 1989, snuffed out by the tanks of Tiananmen Square. The crumbling of communism in Eastern Europe at the close of the 1980s, clearing the way for the stirring breach of the Berlin Wall that signaled the end of the Cold War. The hot war in the Persian Gulf, with its archaic, Saddam Hussein, and high-tech allied assault. And now, the Soviet Union—the Soviet Union—has died.

The Western media in general contribute to the trivialization, covering historic upheavals as though they were sporting contests. Two weeks ago, according to conventional wisdom, Mikhail Gorbachev was limbed as a political leader, yesterday's saint, yesterday as comradely Communist vision, while Boris Yeltsin, the competing president of the Russian republic, was the future of Soviet democracy. Last week, the Western media proclaimed Gorbachev apocryphal, a master of the strange ahead-of-time, virtuoso in his political comeback. And what did Gorbachev's victory consist of? Of doing what he had sworn he would never do: renouncing the fragmentation of his country.

Salvo-firing: He also took part in another more-unthinkable moment: he and Yeltsin appeared live on U.S. television, like a couple of modernists trying to win over an older man who asked them questions by satellite did not would-be was ever—they wanted to know, among other things, how the West could help. The two leaders suggested sending food and medicine. But beyond that, they appeared to have no answers. They were like the co-captains of a boarding ship, insisting that everything is under control, even as the storm rages slowly beneath the surface.

One thing seems clear: there is no going back. No exacting blatant atrocity-firing. No more Cuban missile crises or knee-jerk Western defense spending. Read McNelly has already colored the Balkans as independent countries in its own world allies. Lenin stands in broken and ridiculed across the land, like the founder's dream of an honorable republic. There is even talk of removing his embalmed body from its glass-topped shrine in Red Square and, once and for all, burying him in the ground like any proletarian.

BOB LEVIN



WHY THE SOVIET UNION DIED

In the end, Mikhail Gorbachev fell back on a well-tested arsenal of Western back-room political maneuvering: earnest persuasion does not work, try shouting. It did not take much. After four days of marathon, name-calling debate, the Congress of People's Deputies capitulated in an weary ultimatum from the Soviet president: let work by surrendering nearly 74 years of Moscow-dominated power to the nation's restless republics. Then, the congress voted itself out of existence. In doing so, the roughly 2,600 delegates approved this creation of an entirely new system for running the world's largest and third most populous country. They also demoted by just a death the old Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Said liberal delegate Alexander Vladimirov: "We are moving from a great power into a whole new era."

For the 80-year-old Gorbachev, tongue-lashing the assembly into submission was per-

AT GORBACHEV'S INSISTENCE, THE CONGRESS OF DEPUTIES ENDED ITS OWN LIFE

haps an inevitable outgrowth of his own five-year campaign to open up and reorganize Soviet society. But by bowing to his repeated demands last week for new and even more radical reforms, the congress helped to reverse a politi-

cal center that had been badly battered by a failed right-wing coup just over two weeks earlier. Gorbachev's fortunes were further enhanced by initial world reaction to the momentous work of the congress. In Tokyo, a foreign ministry spokesman said that Japan would respond by relaxing food and medical supplies, estimated to be worth \$245 million. In Tehran, President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani said that Iran supported Gorbachev's policies "and the will of the Soviet people." And Moscow's own regime was quick to display its own support for the will of the people: it recognized the independence of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia (page 20). "These republics," Foreign Minister Boris Pankov announced matter-of-factly, "are now separate from the Soviet Union."

Freeing the Baltic states was the first major official act of the State Council, the highest of the three centers of power created by the revolutionary plan that the congress of deputies endorsed. The council members are Gorbachev and the leaders of 30 republics—the same ones who recently disavowed the whole package before the congress convened on Sept. 2. The council will have control of the armed forces, foreign affairs, law enforcement and state security. The second agency is a two-chambered Supreme Soviet, comprising members to be chosen by the republics, but its relationship to the State Council is still unclear. The Supreme Soviet, which must meet by Oct. 2, will probably be given the task of writing a new constitution. The third agency is the Inter-Republic Economic Committee, which will be responsible for social policy and for managing and reforming the country's collapsing economy.

For the time being, the State Council is expected to govern by decree—its decisions will be law. As for the government as a whole, the



Soldiers clearing the August barricades at the Russian parliament: 'This absolutely new country' still has no name

congress mechanism merely directed the leadership to ensure "the legal continuity of power and management, guaranteeing a peaceful and orderly transition to a democratic civil society." It also urged the negotiation of a new union treaty, defining the relationship among the republics—and the future shape of the union.

The congress had little warning that it would be asked to provide order as chaos broke. When the deputies discovered what was happening, those in the political right, who favor strong central government, were outraged. For four days, the debate echoed in the corridors and the great hall of the Palace of Congresses. Liberal delegates backing Gorbachev charged those on the congress for being out of step with the reformist mood of the country. In response, conservative hard-liners accused their opponents of trying to engineer another coup. Gorbachev, in pursuit of the two-thirds majority needed for passage, turned to a series of procedural ruses, at one point banishing the deputies from the hall altogether for five hours. Three times he submitted the plan to a vote, and three times it was defeated.

Finally, Gorbachev's patience ran out. On Thursday, he stood in the pulpit and shouted "If we cannot agree on this, the congress closes its work"—a clear threat to send the deputies home. On the fourth vote, the measure passed when 112 abstaining deputies

decided to cast ballots. Said Gorbachev sarcastically: "I thank those 112 who joined us. I am much obliged to them." But when it came time to close the session, he had mellowed. "The congress met the standard of this responsible, historic moment," he said with evident satisfaction. Among the exhausted deputies there was only grudging applause. Remarked the liberal delegate, Vladimirov: "The republics have created this absolutely new country."

Failed: The president had many critics. One of the most outspoken was historian Roy Medvedev, a longtime dissident who rejoined the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party before the Soviet parliament, at Gorbachev's invitation, put the party out of business on Aug. 29. Medvedev accused Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who had been elected to the republic a week earlier, of acting irresponsibly and illegally. It would have made more sense, said Medvedev, to reform the existing system than to invent a new one.

But Gorbachev had the last word—and he made it clear that the Communist party, which he had led and strongly defended until last month, has become a political obstacle. Setting a new course beneath glowering chandeliers in the Palace of Congresses, he and Yeltsin appeared on a live ABC News television program early Friday morning. Moscow time, to answer questions from American viewers. When one of them asked whether any country should con-

tinue to live under Communist rule, Gorbachev replied that "the starkist idea" had successfully promoted democracy, economic development and human rights in several European countries. But, he said, "the historical experience which we have accumulated has allowed us to say in a decisive fashion that that model has failed which was brought about in our country. And I believe that this is a lesson not only for our people, but for all peoples."

During the more than two days that he was elected and held under house arrest by the leaders of the coup, Gorbachev's star was eclipsed by Yeltsin's heavily publicized defiance of the conspirators. And even after Gorbachev's release, there was speculation that he would remain in the Russian president's shadow. But when Yeltsin attempted to reassure an American viewer that Soviet nuclear weapons were tightly controlled, Gorbachev quickly interceded to assert his authority. Declared the president: "We are now speaking about something which is closest to the supreme criminal-murderer's wish, who is the president of the U.S.S.R." Because of existing safeguards, he added, "there could not possibly be any decisions of an undesirable nature with regard to nuclear weapons." (Concluding that point, Gorbachev's new defense minister, air force marshal Sergey Shogin, said on Friday in Moscow that all Soviet nuclear weapons had been removed from Eastern Europe, and that



Yeltsin (left), Gorbachev at final Congress session: If persuasion fails, try shouting

those in the Soviet Union were safely under control.)

Meanwhile, the major task facing the Supreme Soviet's constitutional architects when they meet next month will likely be working out how the republics will deal with one another. For one thing, five of the 15 federal treaty parties in drafting last year's reforms (plus—Ukraine, Byelorussia, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan)—have already declared outright independence. So how the five republics not participating in the talks—the Baltic states, Moldova and Georgia. Representatives of Ukraine, planning to recast its own army and grant its own currency, spoke of the Soviet Union's political future as being more like the European Community than a single country. Byelorussia, which does not want its own army and currency, defines a single country. Uzbekistan spokesman Vladimir Zern said that his Central Asian republic looked forward to something "between a national confederation and a community of nations."

Flight: There wasn't even a name for the new reality that replaces the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Gorbachev referred to it as the "Union of Sovereign States," although that designation is not official. But there were ominous signs that the most pressing challenge facing the new nation, whatever it is called, would be feeding and sheltering its 291 million citizens through the winter, which could be disastrous here predicted will be harder than usual in the air television broadcast, Gorbachev hinted at a question that "we truly do need co-operation with regard to food and medications."

Officials of the Soviet and republican governments have described this plight more bluntly. One spokesman has predicted that the 1991 grain harvest will be 45 million tons less than last year's bumper crop of 235 million tons. Because of widespread strikes and obsolete or broken mining machinery, coal production has fallen drastically. In the Russian republic's coal-rich Kuzbass region alone, production is down by 16 million tons since Jan. 1. In Washington in Friday, Soviet Embassy first secretary Anatoly Sharygin told a spokesman that the energy shortages included oil and natural gas as well, and he appealed to U.S. oil companies for help in developing new fields.



Defaced image of Lenin in Moscow: food and shelter are priorities

To a population already decimated by chronic food shortages and long lineups, politicians have delivered mixed messages in a televised speech last week, asking Soviet prime minister: Ivan Silayev, who is also Russia's prime minister, sought to reassure his republic's 147 million people. Said Silayev: "We shall do everything possible to prevent the danger of hunger in Russia. Don't be afraid of the coming winter as regards fuel supplies, fuel and electricity." However, Gennady Gerasimov, the Soviet deputy minister of power engineering and electrification, was openly pessimistic. "It is now quite clear," he said, "that we will not be able to stock enough fuel for the winter." As a result, he added, "energy generators will be pumped and electricity supplies will be severely restricted."

Other members of the central government

seem to avoid adding impetus to the potential for political instability are openly appealing for Western and Alexander Malofeev, a former ambassador to Canada who later joined Gorbachev's design committee, said that "empty gas are more dangerous than bombs." And Yuri Lashkov, who handles foreign economic affairs for a state agency set up following last month's coup, gave visiting Canadian International Trade Minister Michael Wilson a shopping list that included grain, livestock feed, meat, dairy products, sugar, vegetable oil, tea and cocoa. "The state needs immediate deliveries of food," Lashkov said. "We do not resolve the problems of production and deliveries of food, the country will feel not just the lack of it, but famine could start."

Gratified in spite of the harsh economy and the political uncertainty, the August showstoppers at the barracks, giving thousands of demonstrators a good reason to join the coup, revealed a disgraced person for change. The Moscow city council, led up for years with cramped quarters in Tverskaya Street, moved last week and moved to erect the Lenin Museum from its placid, redbrick building on Red Square. In the Oval Mountains, the grimy industrial city of Smolensk, where the Bolshevik executed Czar Nicholas II in July, 1918, has reverted to its pre-revolutionary name of Yel'sinsk, where 18th-century Russian Czar Peter the Great's son, Alexander, named in honor of U.S.S.R. founder Vladimir Lenin, permission to revive its old name of St. Petersburg.

But at week's end, perhaps the most significant reversal of all lay in the attitudes of some congress deputies who, before last month's abortive coup, often accused Gorbachev of political naivety or opportunism. When the congress finally adjourned, several of them invited him to join them for a group picture. Commented deputy Arkady Marchenko: "There is still a great feeling of respect for him and for all we have done—a feeling of gratitude lives on inside us." In the tumultuous months ahead, Gorbachev and the other leaders of the new Soviet Union will need all the mutual respect they can muster.

BAR CONSOLE with MALCOLM GRAFT in Moscow and correspondent reports

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A TASTE OF FREEDOM

LITHUANIANS GRAPPLE WITH INDEPENDENCE

Thousands of travelers encountered one unexpected result of Lithuania's renewed independence last week: a massive single-lane jam up the Baltic state's western frontier. After the failed August coup, a weekend Khrushchev gave Lithuanians of its single road leading to Poland. Then, Lithuanian authorities quickly deployed unarmored national guard members who searched all outgoing vehicles and issued visas to surviving non-Soviet citizens. But soon border guards also continued to work, claiming that they had not received orders from Moscow to withdraw. That double line of border bureaucracy was produced as an estimated lineup of cars, trucks and buses near the town of Laidys, 170 km northwest of Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital—and a wait that normally takes about three hours stretched to four or even five days. Some, frustrated and agitated after trying for 2½ days to enter Poland, Egmont, a 24-year-old physical education student in the Latvian capital of Riga, still manages to see the bright side of what the camp leaders inadvertently accomplished, said Khrushchev: "Those guys deserve monuments for speaking up for public independence."

Even the road apocalyptic leader of the Baltic states—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—could not have foreseen the astonishing speed with which they would achieve their decades-old goal. They actually did not anticipate it on Aug. 16, the first day of the coup, when ultra-patriotic groups from buses in Riga overran into the Baltics. But the soldiers began withdrawing two days later as the hard-core military collapsed in the face of widespread popular resistance. And as the Communist system lay in ruins, Latvia and Estonia swiftly joined Lithuania in declaring full independence, throwing off the Kremlin control that the Red Army had exercised in 1940 after a Soviet-Soviet pact with Nazi Germany. Last week, 54 years later, the Kremlin's veteran Boris Gromov, which includes President Mikhail Gorbachev and 20 prominent leaders, voted to officially grant the Baltics their freedom.

Overwhelming: More than 50 countries, including Canada—whose international trade minister, Michael Wilson, visited the region last week—and the United States have formally recognized Baltic independence. And the three states, with a combined population of just eight million, now face the almost overwhelming prospect of breaking away from the highly industrialized Soviet economy and competing in world markets.

Lithuania actually made its latest declaration



Most celebration: Landsbergis (below) unexpected

of independence on March 11, 1990, while Latvia and Estonia took a less confrontational approach, simply announcing their intention to leave Moscow. In fact, paid special attention to the stubborn Lithuanians, assessing their declaration with a three-month-long blockade that cut off supplies of fuel and raw



materials in January strengthened the resolve to break free—particularly after Soviet troops seized Vilnius's main TV transmitter in a nighttime assault that left 14 people dead.

Now, Lithuania is savoring its first taste of freedom. But apart from a small celebration in a Vilnius stadium last week, there were few signs of public rejoicing. Many Lithuanians resist taking outsiders that they have been independent for more than a year—the best of the world is simply coming up with that fact.

Withdrawal: Still, Vilnius comments openly acknowledge the first delight at the independence victory and last week of about 100 eastern military troops leaves as the Black Berets—special units that Soviet authorities have used to impose control in the Red Sea over the past year. Many of the Black Berets have been reassigned to Siberia. And although 80,000 regular army troops remain in Lithuania, in the August Soviet soldiers abandoned key installations that they had been holding

since the January crackdowns. As the last two thousands of troops pulled away from the Vilnius television tower, a large crowd of onlookers applauded their departure of the night-time occupation—by turning their backs on the departing soldiers.

Algirdas Ramanauskas, the chief engineer at the transmitting center, was in that crowd. Last week, as the 53-year-old Ramanauskas gave a Machiavelli's reputation: a part of the damaged tower, he recalled that he had been among the last group of captives to leave the building after the January assault. Pointing to the woods beyond a perimeter of stone-was built by the Soviet forces, Ramanauskas calmly added that he and a small group of Lithuanians had escaped from soldiers who had taken

them prisoner at gunpoint. "They marched on into the forest and might have shot us there," Ramanauskas said. "But it was dark and we managed to run away."

Although heavy droning crews have removed the debris that the occupying forces left near the main entrance, the 790-foot tower still bears the scars of that September attack and the occupation that followed. Glass windows and doors on the ground floor remained boarded up, swatting new panes of glass, and the building's exterior walls displayed posters from Soviet leaders. And as he walked through the now-wildly overgrown restaurant on the tower's third level, Ramanauskas expressed disgust at the ruins left behind in one of Vilnius's most popular dining spots. "It seems the soldiers

government was Canada's Wilson, on his first stop of a three-day tour of the Baltic capitals.

Heater: Wilson was one of the many high-level foreign delegates that Landsbergis received last week, and as his Canadian visitor arrived at his office, Landsbergis was headily telling Western commentators that the U.S. government's stated stance is "renewing relations with Lithuania had not entered his mind." Wilson is a sort of a sort in his office, Landsbergis exclaimed: "Never mind, here is Canada, a country that is very important—and dear to us. Canada gave us support last January and February when we were under military attack, and it was the first country to take concrete action against that aggression by cutting off credits to the Soviets."



Car washing at the Lithuanian-Polish border: a double layer of bureaucracy produced economic frustration

celebrated their victory at the border by drinking and then washing the bottles," he said. Some diplomats to the northeast, the town-councils with the Lithuanian parliament chose in the day. During the January crackdown, those buildings held another sign of Lithuanian defiance: shortly after Soviet soldiers seized the transmission tower and television studio, local technicians set up a broadcast center within the barricaded parliament. Added Ramanauskas, "We had other emergency studios and transmitters across Lithuania—they never did succeed in keeping us off the air."

Still, as Lithuanians adjusted to the withdrawal of Soviet troops, they also saw the first response to their new status in the world below. On Sept. 12, a black Chinese limousine with two Maple Leaf emblems as the hood drove up outside the parliament. Emerging from the car was an aide from the Lithuanian

Last Friday in Ottawa, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall, ministered that support by announcing the appointment of Canada's first ambassador to the Baltic states. Center street street Michel's Phillips will serve as ambassador to Sweden and be accredited to Latvia and Lithuania. Mykolas Vaidokas, the current ambassador to Finland, will also be responsible for Estonia, Belarus, as Vilnius, Wilson visited first in the Baltic states was likely some time in the future. He added that, initially, Canada will help Lithuania develop an infrastructure that is capable of supporting business through the transfer of technical knowledge, particularly in the fields of banking and communications.

Although Lithuanian officials must that they are ready for independence, the newly free country faces profound economic and political challenges. Among these is the potential for

friction between the Lithuanian majority and Russian and Polish minorities, who comprise more than eight per cent of the population, respectively. But Jacques Vasserman, the Lithuanian parliament's speaker, said that the state had assured Russian President Boris Yeltsin that it will respect the rights of minorities. At the same time, Yeltsin added, the government was ready to discuss all minorities, stones and limitations to private owners.

Still, Lithuania lacks behind the other two Baltic states in economic development. It produces about seven per cent of the TV sets and refrigerators made in the Soviet Union each year, but those and other mass-produced goods are inferior to similar goods made abroad. And although Landsbergis has rejected formal

membership in any economic union formed from the union of the Soviet Union, he has also stressed the need to retain control over them as his country enters the world market.

Some Lithuanians, such as the 44-year-old banker that stretched back to their western border last week, could even find black humor in their problems. Longtime Lithuanian, a 50-year-old mechanical engineer from Vilnius, explained that the new customs guards were confiscating vast amounts of contraband goods that many travelers had accepted to smuggle into Poland, where it is the taxes more expensive. In fact, he added, entangling Lithuanian authorities were now tracking the second layer to smuggle Lithuania, where 400 stores could find the borders—to travelers about to cross into Poland.

MICHAEL GRAF in Vilnius

Letter from Moscow

'WE WILL NOT SHOOT'

Since taking over the Moscow Kremlin a year ago, Gheorghi Meladze Gray has experienced the Soviet Union, observing the historic power struggle between liberals and hardliners. But that was only a prelude to the chaotic events of August, when Gray found himself reporting on one of the most dramatic war stories of the 20th century. His personal account.

I wish I could say that I was prepared for the second Russian revolution. But instead, when hard-line Communists launched their coup attempt on Aug. 19, I was on holiday in Bedford, N.S., near Halifax. I heard the news as dawn broke but had moved into the streets of Moscow. By early the next afternoon, I was back at the Soviet capital, as legend had related that the coup leaders had not closed Sheremetyevo II airport. Sergei Belikov, the driver for the Moscow's Moscow bureau, set my flight and we drove directly downtown, taking our way past police crawling traffic barriers closing off the city center. Tanks and armored personnel carriers were stationed near the Kremlin, at the foot of Moscow's broad Tsvetnaya Street. I climbed onto a green T-72 tank to listen to a dozen Moscovites who were arguing heatedly with its youthful crew members.

That out of a hatch at the front of the vehicle, the tank driver only smiled and shrugged as a broadshouldered man in a blue track suit appeared face with questions. "Against whom are you moving?" the man asked. "Didn't the people pay for these tanks—and for your food and clothing? Why are you here?" Why, indeed. I did not relish the thought of being under a regime that seemed a throwback to former Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev's era of stagnation. In any event, that tank-top encounter was a surreal introduction to an unfolding series of events. They unfolded past each other without pause until Aug. 20, when President Mikhail Gorbachev, restored to a position of rapidly dwindling power, signaled the end of almost 74 years of Communist rule by resigning his post as party leader.

At the start of this tension-filled week, Soviet citizens appeared resigned to a return to authoritarian rule. Moscow drivers dodged around tanks as well as potholes in the city's rutted streets, the state-controlled media dutifully paraded the dozens of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, and shoppers lined up outside near-empty stores as they shopped. To be sure, no one cheered the armored columns on the wide thoroughfares leading to the city center. The tank trucks chugged up the slope, the result was the slightly sinister humming sound heard inside a car as its tires passed over the irregular surface. But in a strange atmosphere of uneasiness, the armored columns obeyed traffic signals when there were no police to warn them through intersections. People walked their dogs, the subway continued opening, and light and telephone services remained throughout the capital—even at the isolated Russian kingdom. From the beginning, however, there were hopeful signs that the sun of the past had melted the country. Many of the troops openly expressed their desire when people started signs of supporting a

legal power grab. Soldiers deployed outside the city's main telephone center even removed the clips from their automatic rifles to show that the weapons were unloaded. "We are Soviet people like you," said one soldier. "We will not shoot." With all but one pro-revolutionary newspaper closed down, clandestine leaflets taped to walls near subway stations drew large crowds. And small knots of people gathered around portable radios tuned to Moscow Echo, an independent station that succeeded in staying on the air.

As I was sorting through those news and considerations, trying to gauge the chances of violence erupting, I did not have to worry about my children's safety. Ian, 5, and Colin, 3, were still with their grandparents in Bedford. But my wife, Carol, was already in Moscow. A lawyer, she had interrupted her vacation to attend a meeting in the Soviet capital. As it happened, the coup unfolded while she was en route. She arrived in Moscow on Aug. 18, knowing only what the father's plan had told her: that Gorbachev had been deposed and might even be dead. After glimpsing tank columns in the streets, her U.S. clients decided that there would be no business transacted in Moscow that week, and they quickly caught the first flight out of the Soviet Union. Carol, who spent a summer working as a reporter for *The Toronto Star* and spent eight months studying in Moscow in 1979, stayed in.

She went to work early the next day, before I reached Moscow, joining a huge crowd outside the city council building. There, well within sight of the armored ring around the Kremlin, people gathered to defy the emergency committee and show their approval for speakers who were making their lives—and, possibly, their lives—in its eventual death. They listened as a member Edward Shevardnadze, the former foreign minister, warned that the committee's success would lead to a return to the rule of terror and

nightmare visits by the KGB. And they reacted with delight when Sergei Rudnev, the capital's powerful deputy mayor, denounced the coup and urged order. "I want to thank you for coming out," Shevardnadze told a crowd of about 150,000 people. "All 150 of you—because that is how it will be reported on state television tonight."

Carol and I stayed at a hotel that stood just west of the Kremlin, and we eventually met up at the Parliament offices on nearby Kuznetskiy Prospekt. The parliament building, or White House, as Moscovites call it, is a blend of stony buildings on a bend of the Moscow River about 3.5 km west of the Kremlin. In more normal circumstances, we pass the building on the way to Carol's preschool classes—she calls it Boris Yeltsin's castle. That week, the building was a besieged fortress.

There, at the heart of the resistance to the coup, we immediately apparent that the Soviet Union's so-called Silent Generation had finally found something worth fighting for. Moscow has seen many hard-partying demonstrations during the past year, attended mainly by responsible citizens, most aged 40 and older. But the children of *plussin* people in their teens and 20s, did not turn out and there was more than a whiff

of danger in the air. Evgeniy Yon Sokolov, a 20-year-old chemistry student—"Mass demonstrations are like any other gathering to them all the time that they are so boring. All you do is march and stand around on the sidewalk listening to speeches. This is different."

In their years, high-cost runners and swimmers are blessed with the access of U.S. universities. Moscow's youth responded to Yeltsin's call to the barricades. First, however, they had to help build them, incorporating reconstructed city houses into a jumbled tangle of steel rods, wire and wood from nearby construction sites. That desire of democracy they learned by distinctly non-Marxist food. Local businessmen who had refused to join from a return to orthodox communism helped lead the second Russian revolution with fast food, frozen bags of Big Mac hamburgers from the city's popular McDonald's outlets.

As darkness fell, rumors floated through the radio-clogged crowd. The KGB would attack at 11 p.m., so at midnight, an anti-coup rally would come just before dawn. Still, there was no mistaking the hope as I register in some of the other members that Russian legislators relayed through crackling loudspeakers. Among them was a bulletin that Gorbachev had fled Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Pankov to withdraw from the conspiracy. Two other members of the so-called Gang of Eight, KGB chairman Vladimir Kryuchkov and Soviet Defense Minister Dmitry Yazu, were also mentioned as being

In the end, it mattered little that

Yeltsin and Yazu had not resigned as reported. Despite the self-proclaimed threat of a massacre, those last tactical battles had accurately described an overwhelming development: the coup was falling apart. Carol and I smiled, too, as we listened, as what we hoped would be the right side of the barricades. Some of the people with whom we have developed close friendships were there in the rear.

Later that night, we pondered on being able to return to our apartment for something the next day and a quick rest without missing an attack on the White House. But there was little time to relax. First, we received a frantic telephone call from Russian friends who were waiting France when the coup occurred. On their first trip outside the Soviet Union, Sergei and Colin were trying to decide on a far more serious problem: whether they should seek refuge in France. But such a guarantee that any future hard-line Soviet government would allow their three children to join them, our friends decided to return to Moscow. All we could offer them was the old-fashioned hope that the coup was going to fail.

Another phone call quickly followed, from friends in central Moscow who told us that they could hear shooting near the White House. Fortunately, the police were not entering an overnight curfew, and a tense but uneventful day revealed that the Russian legislature was still unscathed. But three young men had died in a confined space when crowds trapped an armored column beneath an overpass on the nearby Sverdlov road.

And it was early on Aug. 25, on one of several visits to a site shrouded by memorial offerings of flowers, cigarettes and bread, that I first encountered Nikolai Anisim, an intense 35-year-old sergeant who was trying hysterically to switch back to the 1920s proconsuls. Clearly, Anisim had gone over to Yeltsin's side. But he was so charged with admiration and excitement, answering questions in incoherent bursts that it was only later that I discovered the key role he had played in persuading 10 armored personnel carriers to join him in defeating the White House—providing the first, and most visible, evidence that parts of the military had outmaneuvered the hardliners.

We kept seeing his distinctive black leather hat at the center of the wild celebrations that followed the city's unrelenting war that day when Yeltsin addressed a victory rally on Aug. 25. Anisim was beside him on the balcony of the White House. And as a crowd of 20,000 people cheered the removal of a statue of Felix Dzerzhinsky, the feared founder of the Soviet secret police, from its pedestal before 300 headhunters, Anisim was perched on the truck that carried off the toppled monument.

When Gorbachev resigned from the party leadership on Aug. 24, I was at home, trying to sort the stream of events into some sort of palatable order. But the significance of that resignation was clear enough: communism was finished in the Soviet Union. And democracy appeared to have taken its first step. Later that night, the frantic telegraphing and typing finally over, I went out again the balcony of our 18th-floor apartment. It was still warm after midnight in Moscow, with a full moon rising overhead. Nearby, in adjacent apartment buildings, only a few scattered lights still shone. The first phase of Soviet history was over. The second phase, it took only seven days. At about the same time a week later, on September 11, the night sky over the Kremlin and Red Square.

Meladze Gray



WANTED: NEW READERS

NEWSPAPER EXECUTIVES ARE TAKING BOLD MEASURES TO TRY TO ATTRACT A YOUNGER AUDIENCE

When Peterson, the executive editor of the *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, says that he expects a rash of complaints from longtime subscribers when a redesigned version of the daily newspaper begins rolling off the presses in January. In an effort to attract younger readers, Peterson and the rest of the newspaper's management team tinkered with some of the daily's most cherished traditions. The new front page featured bright splashes of color and a large box summarizing many of the day's top stories. In addition, Peterson added a new local banner column and urged his reporters and editorial writers to adopt a more aggressive style. Recently Peterson "I was worried. Newspaper editors get killed for stuff like this." In spite of his fears, the 33-year-old editor says that the response from the *Star Phoenix's* readers so far has been positive. "It's a monopoly market like this, newspapers tend to get complacent," Peterson adds. "But young readers prefer a bold newspaper. Being in bed—adapting their taste."

Peterson, like other newspaper executives across the country, is trying to find a formula that will appeal to young adults—readers in their 20s and 30s who, unlike with a diet of television, want news and personal commentary, appear less inclined than previous generations to become steady newspaper subscribers. Although Peterson declines to be specific, he says that he is convinced that the changes have helped to increase the paper's circulation among young readers. In Canada, at least one other major Canadian publisher has decided on



Peterson: "In a monopoly market, newspapers tend to get complacent."

a different approach. Last month, Canada's largest daily newspaper, *The Toronto Star*, announced that it is preparing to publish a separate weekly tabloid, focusing primarily on entertainment, as a way of pleasing readers between 18 and 34. According to *Star* publisher and David Foley, the newspaper decided to launch the weekly, which will be distributed free on the Toronto area beginning in October, because it was losing potential attracting younger readers to the daily paper.

"There is no doubt that the young generation that is coming up does not have the newspaper-reading habit to the same extent that previous generations have had," he says. Milla adds, "So far, we have recently considered acquiring an entertainment weekly in Alberta, but decided against the purchase because the publication appeared 'stuffy.'"

The low level of interest in daily newspapers among young adults is even apparent among newspaper reporters. For almost a decade, the

University of Western Ontario's journalism school in London, Ont., has supplied free newspapers to its students to encourage them to read. The head of Western's journalism program, Peter DeLuca, notes that young people traditionally spend much of their time studying or with friends, and until they settle down with a steady job, a family and a house, they are less interested in the traditional contents of newspapers. Still, DeLuca says that he sees signs that the current generation of students is even less drawn to newspapers than previous generations.

Advertising executives warmly welcome newspapers' current attempts to attract young readers. According to Ann Bodin, president of Toronto-based McKim Media Group, a division of one of the largest advertising agen-

cies in the country, it appears to be an acknowledgment of the difficulty of drawing a mainstream paper that appeals to younger people as well as to their parents and grandparents. Stephen Jurett, a veteran newspaperman who will be the tabloid's editor, says that the new publication will be significantly different from the *Star's* existing daily entertainment section. He adds that he is currently scouting the city's university student newspapers for young writers who understand the target market, even if their grammar is upshod. DeLuca adds, "I'll be the oldest one here. I guess I'll have to get a new wardrobe."

Jurett's competitors, however, are skeptical of the *Star's* chances of succeeding with the target market, even if their grammar is upshod. DeLuca adds, "I'll be the oldest one here. I guess I'll have to get a new wardrobe." Jurett's competitors, however, are skeptical of the *Star's* chances of succeeding with the target market, even if their grammar is upshod. DeLuca adds, "I'll be the oldest one here. I guess I'll have to get a new wardrobe."

On U.S. daily, *The News at Nine*, says that the *Star's* conventional news-market approach will be an impediment to reaching young readers. He adds that *News*, whose best-known feature is a sexually explicit classified advertising section, is written for people who like to be challenged with new and different ideas. "Our paper has personality," he says. Jurett adds, "It's like having a conversation with an interesting friend."

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But by this spring, the *Star's* new tabloid will be in circulation. Peterson says that the paper's first two top circulation newspapers for older adults, the *Star* and the *Phoenix*, will be in circulation. Peterson says that the paper's first two top circulation newspapers for older adults, the *Star* and the *Phoenix*, will be in circulation.

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LOWEST TAX CHOPPED

Canada's beleaguered forestry industry welcomed a federal government decision to eliminate a controversial 15-per-cent federal export tax on lumber shipped to the United States. Ottawa imposed the tax in 1987 in response to protectionist pressures from the U.S. lumber industry. As a result, Canadian lumber became more costly and its share of the U.S. market this year declined to 36 per cent from 33 per cent. A spokesman for U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills noted that Washington could respond by imposing an import tax on the lumber.

RAB AND BUSINESS

Ontario business leaders vowed to fight suggested changes to the province's labor laws by Premier Bob Rae's governing New Democratic Party. A document prepared by Labor Minister Robert Rae's Ministerial Order 81 recommendations, including changes to the use of replacement workers during strikes, business leaders said the proposed changes would drive companies out of the province. Meanwhile, the insurance industry welcomed Rae's announcement that the province would indefinitely postpone its proposed public automobile insurance plan.

UNEMPLOYMENT RANKS HIGH

Finance Minister Donald Mackenzie-Brown declared that the yearling recession has ended—but times were still tough for the growing number of Canadians out of work. According to Statistics Canada, the national unemployment rate edged up to 10.6 per cent in August from 10.5 per cent in July, its highest level in six years. In August, 1.46 million Canadians were out of work, up 13,000 from a month before.

SALOMON'S APOLOGY

Warren Buffett, the new chairman of Salomon Bros. Inc., offered a public apology for the Wall Street brokerage's role in breaking bond-trading rules. Buffett told a U.S. congressional committee investigating the scandal that growth was the motive force, not greed, for tighter supervision of the industry.

ELIOT'S BAKIN TO COURT

A group of 67 Canadian investors launched a lawsuit against Eliot of London, Ontario's largest insurance broker. The investors claim that Eliot, which has suffered huge underwriting losses in recent years, failed to advise them fully of the risks that they assumed by agreeing to become personally liable for insurance losses.

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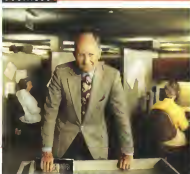
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BUSINESS



Andrew in front of phone bank responding to a consumer demand

Ordering over the border

More Canadians are shopping from U.S. catalogues

Carol Kirk has discovered a way to do her cross-border shopping, without leaving her Toronto house. In June, a friend showed Kirk, 28, a catalogue published by Webster's Secret, a women's clothing company based in Colorado. After looking through the publication, Kirk, a financial manager, telephoned the company toll-free, gave an operator her credit-card number and ordered a raffish T-shirt, colorful leggings and some leather. Total cost: \$330, including duty and delivery charges. Two days later, the merchandise arrived mail. "I needed something to spark up my summer wardrobe and I didn't have time to shop," she said. "The prices were good and I liked the idea of ordering by phone." Kirk is part of a rapidly growing trend. Busting high retail prices and lacking the time to hunt for bargains at home or to shop for cheaper goods in the United States, more and more Canadians are purchasing clothes, house furnishings and other products from large U.S. mail-order companies.

According to the Toronto-based Canadian Direct Marketing Association, Canadian spend of just \$366 million on American catalogues in 1990, more than five times as much as they spent in 1986. In the past, relatively few of the U.S. companies

actively competed in the Canadian market. But the gradual reduction of tariffs under the 1988 Free Trade Agreement, combined with a recent flood of mail-order sales in the United States and the introduction of the toll-free, toll-free catalogue companies to target Canadian consumers. Most of the U.S. catalogues are usually so-called service companies that their Canadian counterparts, which are generally smaller and less developed. "Canada is an open field for the U.S. companies," says James Proulx, a New York City-based direct-marketing consultant. "There are about 800 Canadian catalogue companies, but only 125 of those exist."

In dramatic contrast, more than 7,000 U.S. companies currently produce mail-order catalogues, enabling consumers to shop at home for virtually any retail product. Unlike traditional department store catalogues, mail-order publications specialize in a narrow range of products, including clothing, shoes, housewares and even prescription drugs. According to the New York-based Direct Marketing Association, \$6.6 billion U.S. consumers—or 84.4 per cent of the country's adult population—make a purchase at home by mail or by telephone in 1990. For many, catalogues offer a convenient and time-saving way to shop. In addition, by central-

izing their operations, avoiding high-cost locations and eliminating the need for large sales forces, the companies can often undercut even the most efficient retailers.

Canadian direct marketers, however, say that their U.S. counterparts also enjoy an "unfair advantage." In 1985, the federal government issued a regulation that allows mail and courier shipments valued under \$46 to enter Canada free of duty and taxes. Ottawa said that the exemption was designed to reduce government spending on customs inspections. But critics claim that the rule enables Canadian companies to pay less for an imported product than the United States firm for the identical product in Canada, where there are provincial sales taxes and, since the beginning of the year, GST on every purchase. On top of that, Canadian direct marketers are also required to pay duty on the goods that they bring into the country. "We are definitely not competing on a level playing field," says Anthony Korman, president of Toronto-based Royal Greenings & Faba, a large Canadian mail-order house.

But that isn't the only disadvantage of the Canadian Direct Marketing Association has been called on by Revenue Minister C. Lloyd Axworthy to investigate the \$46 exemption, which it says has cost the Canadian treasury about 1,000 jobs. A spokesman for Axworthy said last week that officials from Revenue Canada, the finance department's tax Canada Post are currently reviewing the issue.

Still, some Canadian mail-order firms are managing to compete effectively in the United States. Brandon, Man.-based Macleon's Secret Co. Ltd. entered the southern U.S. market three years ago with information advancements promoting seeds and plants suitable for a short growing season. "We don't go below the Macleone-Kansas border," says Randall Mowat, the firm's marketing manager. The company now prints close to a million catalogues a year and sends 200,000 of them to customers in the United States. Adds Mowat: "We're trying to get down there before everybody goes here."

Many of the U.S. companies that have already entered the Canadian market say that they are responding to consumer demand. Richard Anderson, president and chief executive officer of Land's End Inc., says that until this year he had sold only in Canada, which sells men's and women's clothing, did not deliberately select business from Canadians, even so, he says, the firm received thousands of orders every year from Canadians who had seen the company's ads in U.S. publications. Last month, Land's End started running advertisements in Canadian magazines.

Another well-known U.S. mail-order company, New York-based J.C. Penney Inc., mailed 75,000 catalogues last April to potential customers in Canada. "We were pleasantly surprised by the response," says Andrew Parker, a company official. "There is clearly a post-up demand for Canadian shoppers, it appears here decided to let their fingers do the walking—right across the Canada-U.S. border."

BARBARA WICKENS

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22K Gold Coin (15.957g)		\$ 95	\$
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Subtotal			\$
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PST is applicable to			\$
Total value of the order			\$

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The beaching of a Great Whale

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

So much happened to change the world this summer that what may well be the most significant turn of domestic events went almost unnoticed. What actually saying so—and with as supporters as well as its enemies and vigorously clashing over its merits and destructive potential—Quebec quietly abandoned its \$12.7-billion Great Whale hydroelectric megaproject.

"The effort has been the environmental lobby of the Cove," asserted the authoritative Ottawa-based newsletter *Environmental Dimensions*. (That Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa's cherished Great Whale project has almost no hope of financing—yet alone real traction—at George Costello's last Little Big Horn. Clearly, no amount of public and private relations will save the project now. Great Whale is beached.")

Even if so Quebec City officials dare confirm that analysis, it rings true because the project was a spectacular marketing disaster: watched on Aug. 25 when Bourassa announced a "one-year" postponement. There have been so many competing interests involved in the mammoth undertaking, which was supposed to divert five rivers and flood almost 2,000 square miles of forest and forest hunting territory, that it took on more symbolic importance than its future source of 2,166 megawatts of exportable electricity. Each of the self-interested participants in this failed power project had a passionate agenda. Now, they're all mad.

For Bourassa, James Bay is the realization of a longtime dream. While a publicist called after losing the 1976 election, he wrote *Power from the North*, in which he described in minute detail how the project would be built and financed, even postulating the denouement of James Bay as a "renewal for freshwater exports to the United States." As soon as Bourassa led the Liberals to victory again in 1985, he rushed down to Washington and Wall Street, entailing high-profile U.S. businessmen and politicians in the scheme's supporters. His appeal to the Americans, their nervous about

The self-interested participants in this failed hydroelectric megaproject all had a passionate agenda. Now, they're all mad.

the safety of their Middle East petroleum supplies, was that James Bay it would produce so much energy equivalent of 212 million barrels of oil—or enough energy to supply all the needs of the United States for two full weeks—by the 1990s. In addition, Bourassa promised that Quebec, being a "transitory ally," would "never pull the switch" on any export deal.

James Bay it has been Bourassa's holy political goal ever since. "Northern riches," noted Lawrence Gasque, a well-connected Quebec columnist, "are to Quebec what oil is to Alberta: so invaluable natural resource, a precious source of energy, a tremendous economic asset. This is why the development of the province's water resources has always been Mr. Bourassa's main project—the only one, actually, that he holds with great conviction."

His eager wish to postpone the project, likely only well beyond his political tenure, is hard to exaggerate. At the same time, he has attacked the opposition in the area, claiming that seven million Quebecers can't be wrong and equating native defiance with Elton Harper's destabilization to Meech Lake.

For the 17,500 Indians and most of the Inuit who inhabit these lonely shores of Hudson and

James says, the fight is not, as many believe, some form of vindictive political protest or macho challenge to Bourassa's authority. It is, plain and simple, the defense of a way of life. What the white negotiators can't seem to realize is that how you live is not a commodity you can bargain away. For the natives, it is equivalent to the citizens of French Canada being told by a group of outside agitators that while they'll be financially compensated, from now on they can no longer enjoy the benefits of Québécois culture, including the food they eat and the way they spend their spare time.

"It's a matter of the Cree trying to preserve a way of life that depends on what the territory provides," insists Robby Dick, chief of the Cree band at Great Whale. "The pressure seems to have suggested that it doesn't matter if you kill 2,000 people—there are seven million people who need this. Is he God?" Most natives remain suspicious about the sincerity of Quebec's postponement of the project and are angry that Quebec City will not concede the supremacy of their claim to the earth they took.

New York state, which was supposed to be James Bay's most important customer, is unhappy because it will still need the extra electricity—partly to power all those Canadian factories moving into its northern precincts—but now will have to look elsewhere, perhaps even to nuclear energy. While it's true that the recession has curtailed the state's hydro demands, the main reason why New York as well as most of the New England states are currently "reviewing" their proposed contracts for Quebec power is because of the successful lobbying by the Cree, whose leaders because the dealings of Manitoba's actuator is cruel. Few energy experts believe that there is much chance of carrying the contracts, even if they have officially only been handed for a year.

What triggered the death of Great Whale was not as much the New York state turnaround as the Manitoba government's decision to authorize a half-year environmental impact study by a trio of Quebec workers. Given the fact that the closest commissioners are a philosopher (Paul Lacoste), a specialist on the effects of heavy metals on aquatic life (Claude Delisle) and a physical cosmology expert (Gérard Larue), the outcome of their deliberations is fairly predictable. Hydro Quebec has already decided to boycott the bargain.

Ottawa's fear is not only that it will be blamed for mortally delaying the project, but also that its environmental interference will weigh heavily with Bourassa when it comes to next year's election.

Another element in the explosive mix is the aboriginal claim that if Quebec were to separate, its northern territories (including the site of any future Great Whale project) would remain under native jurisdiction. "What a lot of stuff," ridiculed Jacques Parizeau, when told of their proposals. "They're going to walk with the darts under their arms. Pretty soon we'll need to see some headlamps. 'Sovereignty makes you blind.'"

As an expert on that subject, all I can say is, so does federalism.

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Poster (left), Little Man Tate executive producer Randy Shoen: moviemakers from 43 countries court the distributors

SPECIAL REPORT

REELS AND DEALS

TORONTO'S FILM FESTIVAL IS A MAGNET FOR MOVIEMAKERS AND STARS

John Foster stepped from the limousine to the sidewalk—and into a blaze of lights and cameras. Wearing a simple black suit and a yellow scarf, she moved briskly through the photographers and fans crowded onto the sidewalk in front of Toronto's Elgin Theatre. The crowd was Toronto's annual film extravaganza, the Festival of Festivals. Foster had arrived for a gala showing of her new movie, *Little Man Tate*, the story of a seven-year-old child prodigy and his working-class mother. To thunderous applause at the end of the screening, an *Elgin* stage erupted onstage and gave a bow. For the child-wrangling actress, who started out as a child star, the movie is a milestone: it is the 28th film that she has acted in, but the first that

she has directed (page 46). Foster's decision to reveal her secret at the Toronto festival—and the presence of other stars including Sean Penn, Lily Tomlin, Don Johnson and Sophia Loren—helped confirm its status as North America's mecca of world cinema.

Film festivals are the microcosmic conventions of the movie industry. They attract stars, directors, distributors, agents, critics—and moviegoers ranging from back-seat socialites to film aficionados. Industry insiders consider the Toronto festival, running from Sept. 4 to 25 this year, to be the best on the continent. It is Toronto for the quantity and quality of its films—and its patrons. Said Thomas Bernard, a New York City-based vice-president of Orion Classics, an American distributor: "This

is the greatest festival in the world for seeing movies. I come here to look for films to buy, and to see the audience reaction to films that I own. The international press is flocking away from all the festivals in the United States. When they can get it all in Toronto, why go anywhere else?"

Scope. The current lineup includes 289 films from 43 countries. Among the highlights is *Canoequest—Visages d'un Fleuve*, a poetic tale of a writer's black made by American brothers Joel and Ethan Coen. Another Coen movie, *Heavenly Creatures*, is a surreal excursion through post-Nazi Germany. The festival is also showing the best of last year's Venice Film Festival, including U.S. director Tony Gilroy's *The Fisher King*, starring Robin Williams as a deranged delusional. The program also features an 18-film salute to Mexican cinema. And this year, the festival took to the streets on its second night with an outdoor party and screening of Fritz Lang's futuristic classic, *Metropolis*, in front of Toronto's city hall.

Visiting stars and big-name directors are essential to the festival's appeal. "You want hype and glamour—every festival does, it's part of the business," said executive director Helga Stephenson. "While people think of movies, there's a part of what they think of. It would be a big hole if it weren't here." But for festival fans, the real meat of the Toronto event lies in

discovering obscure gems and unknown talents. "When the audience here has something done by a complete unknown that they like, they jump up and down and applaud it to the skies," said Stephenson. "We don't have a beach like Cannes, but the Toronto crowds have the ability and reputation of making hits."

Just Toronto discoveries range from *Days* (1981), a French thriller that had passed unnoticed in France, to *Anger & Joy* (1989), a comedy about General Motors layoffs that became one of the most popular documentaries ever released. The festival has also launched a number of Oscar winners over the years, including *My Left Foot* (1989) and last year's *Reveries of a Fool* (1989). And it has helped introduce North American audiences to exotic fare from Asia, Latin America and the Soviet Union.

Nativity. Cannes remains the world's largest film festival. But it is essentially a trade show and competition, open only to critics and industry professionals. North America's biggest festival, in terms of attendance and the number of films, both take place in Canada: Toronto's Festival of Festivals, which is mainly non-competitive, and the annual Montreal World Film Festival, which judges films by jury. Both are public events, and ticket sales provide roughly one-third of their annual budgets of more than \$3 million. Private sponsorship and government subsidies make up the rest.

For more than a decade, there has been a

heated rivalry between Toronto and Montreal, which compete for the best new films shown around the world. But recently, Montreal's status has been slipping. It is in poor financial health. And during its 15th anniversary last month, its lukewarm program became the target of widespread criticism, even from the traditional loyal Montreal media.

The Toronto and Montreal festivals present a vivid contrast in styles. Serge Lacoste, a Napoleonic figure who shares publicity with the Montreal festival like a prize fiddler, is Toronto, the whimsical Stephenson has been carrying on an extended flirtation with film-makers and the North American media ever since she became the festival's executive director, with Peter Bissinger serving as deputy director, in 1985 (page 40).

Prize. Although both Toronto and Montreal show new Canadian films, the Toronto festival has become the definitive showcase—films are 27 new dramatic features from Canada in the current lineup (page 46). And its organizers take pride in giving domestic movies a prominent place in the program. "It's an unwritten policy that we try to open the festival with a Canadian film," said Stephenson. The festival is a multi-million-dollar publicity machine. And there's a lot of fierce competition for that opening spot.

The movie that opened the festival last week at the recently restored Elgin Theatre was *Black Robe*, a \$14-million production that is by a long shot—the most expensive Canadian movie of the year. Directed by Australian filmmaker Bruce Beresford, who also made *Driving Miss Daisy*, winner of the Oscar for best picture in 1989, it is a vivid 17th-century costume epic about Jesuits and Indians. Twelve years earlier, *Black Robe's* coproducer Robert Lussan—now chairman of Alliance Communications, Canada's largest film and TV production company—was sitting at the same theatre as co-producer of the movie that inaugurated the third Toronto festival on an unknown note. It was *Prize of Older Women*, a sex comedy starring Tina Turner and Karen Black. And the Ontario Council Board had insisted that Lussan cut 30 seconds from an especially hot love-making scene. Controversy over the censoring order sparked public interest, especially when festival organizers and producers decided to show it again.

Former festival director Wayne Clarkson, who was a programmer at the time and is now executive producer at the Canadian Centre for Advanced Film Studies in Toronto, remembers a night of pandemonium. The 1,600-seat theatre was packed on the night of the opening. And hundreds of people with intentions were standing outside in the rain. "They were waiting to get in," he said. "We had to call the police. There were corporate sponsors and government representatives standing out there with their noses pressed to the glass." Added Clarkson, "Anyway, it was a huge battle, and the festival just took off. Every night, the theatres were full."

The festival's founders were promoters with Wild West flair. Wayne Marshall, now a pro-

Night screening of *Metropolis*: creating a world of cinematic intrigue





SPECIAL REPORT

JOURNEYS INTO DARKNESS

OUTCASTS DOMINATE CANADIAN MOVIES

Vagabond natives, disenchanted diplomats, disillusioned diplomats and lost suburbanites—these are some of the characters who emerge from the latest wave of Canadian movies shown at Toronto's Festival of Festivals. There are 25 new Canadian feature films showing at the event—more than ever before. And most will be released in theaters this fall. They range from *Black Robe*, a \$14-million epic about a Jesuit missionary who is tortured by the Iroquois, to *Highway 61*, a \$1.5-million black comedy about a small-time barber who drives a female outlaw and a rotting corpse from Thunder Bay to New Orleans.

Major Hollywood movies tend to treat the

big screen as an avenue of escape—a fireway of hope where villains are vanquished, romance flourishes and dreams come true. Canadian films are, on the whole, less optimistic. The most powerful of the new features—*Black Robe*, *Chernobyl*, *The Adventurer*, *Highway 61*, *Scar* and *Mr. DeMowar*—are all stories of outcasts, characters at odds with their environment, whether it is a hostile wilderness, a foreign culture or a suburban home. Most are stark or doomed, not idyllic or romantic. And they demand not come true, at least not according to plan. Reality, meanwhile, keeps interfering with romance. Together, the new Canadian movies

form a composite portrait of an alien and fractured society—a culture quietly at war with itself. And unlike the traditionally gentle *enoch* of domestic cinema, the current crop has an unusual capacity to shock and disturb.

Two of the new movies are about Indians who take white men to tortuous canoe trips into the heart of darkness. There are striking parallels between *Black Robe*, Antoine Fuqua's 17th-century saga about a Jesuit missionary, and *Chernobyl*, Polish director Richard Bejling's contemporary drama about a native who kidnaps a local paper mill manager. Both are adaptations of Canadian novels, with Fuqua's director choosing their first Canadian features. And both are violent dramas that, curiously enough, include scenes of fingers being severed, that the two movies are indelibly different. *Black Robe* is a spectacle of haunting beauty. *Chernobyl* is a grisly psychological drama.

Previews: A confrontation between Canada and America, *Black Robe* is about characters who struggle to retain their faith—and dignity—amid terrifying cruelty and hardship. Quebec actor Gabriel Byrne portrays a Jesuit missionary who is the star of *Black Robe* (1998), portrays Father Laforgue, a Jesuit seeking to convert the Indians. The Algonquians take him on a grueling 1,500-mile canoe expedition to a Jesuit mission among the Iroquois. Rebellious Brian Moore, a Canadian

actor now living in the United States, adapted the screenplay from his own 1986 best-seller. It dramatizes the clash between two world views—the white man's look is a colonialist's and the Indian's belief in a right of man's prophetic dream.

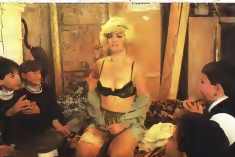
Although the film seeks some graphic levity, Moore has softened the book's profane slang, stripping foul language and cannibalism from the current behavior of respectability. He told *Moore* that he was worried that the sexuality and violence, which he based on the film's own chronicles, could seem too excessive on screen. He also made Laforgue's character more sympathetic. But the film's psychological content seems to have been lost in the transition to the screen. *Black Robe*'s performance seems strangely opaque.

Beauty: Still, *Chernobyl* who directed the Oscar-winning *Driving Miss Daisy* (1989), has created a magnificent recreation for the senses. Like last year's *Down to Earth*, *Black Robe* is a rare movie that captures the spirit of the times. The natives speak in subtitled dialect, the Iroquois' imagines are made of real cedar bark. Exquisitely photographed in Quebec's Saguenay River, the movie starts in summer and ends in winter. It is a film of severe beauty, in which the human drama is matched by violent changes in landscape and weather.

Chernobyl, meanwhile, is one of the most politically controversial Canadian stories ever made. Based on M. T. Kelly's novel *A Dream Like Mine* (1987), it is a visceral melodrama about liberal guilt and native rage. Canadian director Gabriel Byrne portrays an Indian who kidnaps and tortures a paper-mill manager (Michael Rooker). Caught in the middle is a white lawyer (John Lee) who has been defending the natives in a losing battle to preserve forest land.

The movie grainily echoes the latter loss of recent conflicts involving Indians near Oka, Quebec, and Saragat, Ontario. *Chernobyl* gives a brilliant, scary performance that makes his Oscar-nominated role as a mild-mannered medicine man in *Chernobyl* and tortures a paper-mill manager (Michael Rooker). Caught in the middle is a white lawyer (John Lee) who has been defending the natives in a losing battle to preserve forest land.

Business (above) in Black Robe; scene from The Adventurer with Gabrielle Rose: shocking



Chernobyl's sometimes frenzied scenes are really charming throughout it all.

The Adventurer darts along on a more cerebral level. Directed by 31-year-old Toronto's January Adams, it is a logistic tale of dissonant lives, a movie full of emotional distance, subtle tension and mounting comedy. It stars Montreal actor Elias Koteas as Noah, a free-lance photographer with a vision (and a moment). Noah serves as both accountant and therapist to clients whose lives have gone up in smoke. He talks up their lost passions, reminds them about their souls and sometimes offers advice between the sheets. His wife (Alexandra Khoroshina) works in a film store and secretly tapes pornography for her sister. They all inhabit a darkness on the edge of town, in a model house that sits alone on a harem of dirt. Meanwhile, a shy psychic played by Maury Chaykin slowly manipulates himself into their lives.

The Adventurer creates its own world, an original fusion of the local and the bizarre. *Chernobyl*'s fourth—and most accessible—feature, it codifies its status as Canada's most provocative young filmmaker. The movie has won numerous accolades at film festivals from Cannes to Moscow. And it is one of just 27 features selected for the exclusive New York Film Festival late this month. Koteas is already a rising star in Europe. With *The Adventurer*, he could make a North American breakthrough; his dusky comic vision of suburban angst has obvious appeal to a continent that turned David Lynch, the creator of TV's *Twin Peaks*, into a cult figure.

Genre: The theme of dislocation also dominates *Highway 61*, although the tone is much lighter. Directed by Toronto's Bruce McDonald, it's a rock 'n' roll odyssey in the spirit of his first feature, *Roadkill*, which was a cheeky comedy about characters who became unhinged while traveling into Northern Ontario. But *Highway 61*, while showing hard work, has higher production values, better acting—and a real story.

It begins with the discovery of a frozen body by a truck, transporter *Ontario* (later named *Polka* [Don McKellar]). A religious from the road crew of a heavy-metal band, Jackie (Valerie Bogan), claims that the corpse is her brother. And she persuades Polka to strip the coffin onto the roof of his father's Galaxy 500 and drive her to New Orleans (Jazz, bingo, sex and Satan candles head-on in the cheap South). And although the bottom drops out of the ending, *Highway 61* provides a relatively treated ride.

In Canada, salvation often lies to the south. In South of the Border, Vancouver's Robert Bayle's first feature, *Revelation* portrays a daylight-waitress in a small town who dreams of traveling to Toronto for a concert by heavy-metal band. Dan Hill. The melancholy comedy has a sound track by Marjo Temme of the Cowboy Junkies. Another Canadian singer, Mary Margaret O'Brien, both contributes a sound track and acts in *The Raven's Landing*.

Up in My Bush, Directed by Toronto native Bill Robertson, it is an off-kilter comedy about a dysfunctional suburban family that finds relief in love, humor and grief.

Not all Toronto directors, however, are intent on dissecting the quiet despair of a suburb or small town. Several new movies explore the race and class prejudices that underlie the polite veneer of Canadian society. Director Debra Mehta makes her feature-film debut with *Saw and Me*, a heartfelt story of an East Indian immigrant who struggles to find a place for himself in Toronto. Indian-born actor Rande Chowdhry, who wrote the script, gives a compelling performance as 29-year-old Nihal, who arrives in Canada and the

emotional reserve of a cancer diplomat, but her acting is almost perfectly restrained. Mehta can star Gita Medha, however, compensates with an inspired performance as a church worker in a charity clinic. And with Mexican locations doubling for El Salvador, Gutierrez displays the spontaneity and flair that marked his award-winning documentaries—most notably *After the War* (1983), his Oscar-nominated feature about unemployment, and *Final Offer* (1986), his history of a new war.

Director Gail Singer—whose documentary *Pharmako*, about Israeli stand-up comics, is shown the festival—brings her head at drama for the first time with *True Confessions*. It is a

lingering work in *Black Angels*. And British Columbia has produced three innovative first features. The Green's *RPA*, directed by John Pomeroy, tells a strange tale about a stranger and an innovative director at a theater under attack in Trail, B.C. In *New Shore*, director Ann Marie Fleming turns the camera on herself in a multilayered narrative about reflection and rage. And in *Counting Losses*, Mary Daniel focuses on conversation and landscape with the wisdom of her own New Year's Eve.

Landscape means an overwhelming obsession in Canadian filmmaking. The forbidding cliffs of the Saguenay in *Black Hole* and the suburban wasteland of *The Adjuster* are made more than scenery. Beautiful and bizarre, misty landscape in character. But perhaps no Canadian movie uses landscape as eloquently as *La Demoiselle* says, by Montreal director

La Poole. In a year when Quebec's most popular film-makers, notably Denis Arcand and Yves Simoneau, have not completed new movies, Poole's little feature stands out as a quietly brilliant masterpiece.

Briefly: All of Poole's previous features—starting from *La Femme de l'histoire* about Chénier—were explorations of Montreal's urban fabric. But so does *La Demoiselle*, who went to Europe, where she was born. The current is about a fugitive (Patricia Tardieu) who reinvents a mysterious crime and faces to the mountains, where she kills her last foe at a cliff. Stated and restated, she is discovered by an engineer (Olivier Robitaille). He takes her back the police; she becomes his mistress in the wild. But something has to give.

La Demoiselle appears; which was the prize for most popular Canadian feature film at the recent Montreal World Film Festival, is a sensitive work of breathtaking imagery. The film—a mosaic game of concrete opening a mountain valley—opens in a burning fire of repression. In the next *Alone* film, Poole's camera finds the angles and shadows, who whisper, abstract compositions. And in the two lovers, her actors create a sense of transcending erotic tension.

Although it was shot in Switzerland, *La Demoiselle* is unquestionably Canadian, its flawed lovers—like the poet in *Black Hole*, the immigrant in *Saw and Me* and the sage bends in *Highway 61*—are desperately trying to go elsewhere, but, abandoned with Hollywood magic, the further they go, the closer it becomes that there is no easy way out.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON



Medicine Girl, Merit from Diplomatic Immunity: Salvadora Adell

As a beautiful, badly comic, *Saw and Me* is out to half. And the story is displaced. But its portrait of discrimination is well-observed. And as a slice of life-looking at Canada as a multicultural mosaic—its less than idealistic appeal. The movie received a standing ovation at Cannes last fall, where it was awarded the runner-up prize for best first feature.

Reel: Mehta, another movie about South's East Indian community, is a more nuanced connection Indian-born actress Kishore, 26, served as Mehta's writer, director, and producer. Kishore plays a leader-goddess who has lost his family in a plane crash. Indian star Sandeep Jethi portrays three separate characters—in an interplay trying for control of the air, the sea, or the sky, as someone who acquires a valuable Canadian stamp, and a like-minded story who keeps popping up on TV. Mehta, named after a space mission, strings an intricate web of drama and three fantasy and myth. Underneath, the ingredients circle.

While Mehta and *Saw and Me* explore racism at home, South's Gutierrez explores America's dramatic the upstart side of Canada's official role in anti-race developing countries. In his first dramatic feature, Gutierrez examines evil war in El Salvador, with documentary-style visiting *World's Medicine* portrays a young Canadian diplomat who gets caught between the two sides of the conflict. The movie draws a scathing portrait of Canadian govt. "This was the last time Canada made a difference anywhere," says an American official played by Michael Riley, "except in their own minds!"

Mehta may have accurately conveyed the



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JODIE FOSTER'S 'BEST PERFORMANCE'

AN ACTRESS CALLS HER OWN SHOTS

There is a scene in Jodie Foster's new movie, *Little Man Tate*, that shows her snatched out on a window sill, eating cherries. Her character, Dede, a single, working-class mother, is doing her best to pry a commitment out of her seven-year-old boy, Fred, a child prodigy who has his face buried in a thick book about mathematics between her legs. Foster sits up, cherry stones. She does it with a cool, conscious insistence, as if she were firing at an unseen target. An innocent and unadorned mother. Dede is looking for a little attention. It is an exquisitely poor scene, evidence of Foster's skills as an actress and a film-maker—the movie, which premiered last week at Toronto's film festival, marries her directorial debut. As she sits up, cherry stones at precisely measured intervals, it is clear that she has a keen appreciation of control.

Jodie Foster has brought a new level of heroism to the movies. She has made a career out of playing tough girls in trouble, working-class women who refuse to be victims. And she makes her list of them: three dirty Hollywood females. In 1980, Foster was the best actress Oscar for her harrowing performance as a rape victim in *The Accused*. Last spring, she crossed a new threshold in *The Silence of the Lambs*, as a nervous FBI mother who hunts secrets from a sadist psychopath and winds up as a serial killer. Foster became a box-office smash—and helped to dispel the myth that moviegoers will not pay to see women in aggressive leading roles. Now, with *Little Man Tate*, Foster has devoted her first focus with remarkable focus. And for the first time, the former child star is performing a mother. "I think it's probably my best performance. I've given," Foster told *Newsweek*, "because 'I'm a side of me that I've never allowed to show in a movie before'."

Boop: At 24, Foster has already appeared in 26 movies. She has more experience than many actors twice her age. On screen, she always is performing a mother. "I think it's probably my best performance. I've given," Foster told *Newsweek*, "because 'I'm a side of me that I've never allowed to show in a movie before'."

Oscar, combined with the success of *Silence*, has made her bankable. "I'm excited about projects that I normally wouldn't be able to get off the ground," she said.

The actress, who now owns her own movie development company, seems to have an ongoing interest for choosing good scripts. And in an industry where art is a daily-sold metaphor for money, she invests her work with passionate idealism. "I'm very ambitious about what I want to change and what I want to accomplish," she said. "I want to confront the good stuff and challenge the status quo."

Foster brings a redemptive quality to her characters, who tend to be mistreated and misunderstood. "They are characters who have been judged by the majority," she said. "You know, a young woman was there in a tight dress—'Oh, she deserved to be raped.' I play characters that are complex, that people like to laugh off and say, 'Oh, that's somebody that I would never know.' I like to make them know that person." Added Foster: "What female actors, and certainly women in history, have to fight against is not so much the obvious things—sexism, racism, etc.—but just being ignored. And here you are as a woman who has five kids and no money and takes care of them and survives. That's a heroic feat."

Big: With her portrayal of a mother in *Little Man Tate*, Foster's career has, in a sense, come full circle. The movie, due for release next month, is about a gifted boy who is a natural mathematician, a brilliant prodigy and an injured patient, but has trouble enjoying the simple pleasures of growing up and fitting in. Although Foster was not a prodigy, she was, like the boy, a child star. The movie, due for release next month, is about a gifted boy who is a natural mathematician, a brilliant prodigy and an injured patient, but has trouble enjoying the simple pleasures of growing up and fitting in. Although Foster was not a prodigy, she was, like the boy, a child star. The movie, due for release next month, is about a gifted boy who is a natural mathematician, a brilliant prodigy and an injured patient, but has trouble enjoying the simple pleasures of growing up and fitting in. Although Foster was not a prodigy, she was, like the boy, a child star.

On the first day of shooting *Little Man Tate*—when she was just eight-year-old—said Adam Rosenthal, the 44-year-old father back to her first red television acting job more than 20 years ago. "I had to come out and say, 'I am the good guy,'" she recalled. "And I remember I saw my mother's face and the look of hatred at me and I saw these tears welling in her eyes."

Little Man Tate is a movie that involves letters of bad address and pay, in about a boy stranded between two conflicting strains of motherhood. Deanne West plays Jane, a child psychologist

who wants to pay Fred's therapy by placing him in competition with other gifted children. But while Jane works to harness his mind, she has no idea how to match him back. Foster, who has studied in play groups, says that Fred could be anyone who feels left out. "Every kid at some point has felt that they were the one person who would never fit in," she said. "But a mile ago, mind you, saying, 'I don't want to fit in. I just want to belong.'" Added Foster: "I'm not interested in being normal, because I didn't have a normal life and probably never will."

Nicla Christian (Jodie) Foster grew up in Los Angeles, three blocks from Hollywood Boulevard. Her mother, Betty, who still helps manage her career, worked in public relations for her father, Lester Foster, who is estranged from the family, divorced Betty when Jodie, the youngest of four children, was just a few

months old. The family was not wealthy, but it "was definitely about culture and beauty," Foster recalled. "I was raised in a house that was terra-cotta colored with Italian cypress and white French tapestries and leather-bound books."

Foster's mother enrolled her in a program for gifted children, but transferred her to a French-immersion school by the fourth grade. Meanwhile, Jane cultivated a childhood career on prime-time television. She had appeared in 30 episodes of various TV series by the age of 6, when she acted in her first movie, *Apocalypse Now*. Sometime, at 13, she played a child prostitute in *Taxi Driver*, winning an Oscar nomination. Eight movies later, Foster retreated into a semblance of a normal life by attending Yale, where she earned a BA in literature. But in 1982, John Huddley Jr.'s attempt to

assassinate President Ronald Reagan—which Huddley said was meant to impress Foster—crashingly ended her back on the spotlight. She excoriated her anger in a confessional essay written for *Esquire*. Since then, she has kept the Huddley incident behind her and refrains to discuss it. Foster, who is unmarried, is also loath to talk about her private life.

Gun: Despite the Huddley trauma, Foster has portrayed victims of violent predators in four movies. She was raped in *The Most Dangerous Man in America* (1984), narrated by a psychotic mother in *Run Current* (1986), gaspaped in *The Accused* and strangled by a psychotic in *The Silence of the Lambs*. But each time out, her character became stronger, until in *Silence* she finally struck back with a gun.

Foster says that she had to convince director Jonathan Demme to cast her in *Silence*. His

first choice was Michelle Pfeiffer, who turned him down. Given Pfeiffer, nevertheless, took a risk in casting her and making the movie, Foster maintained. "You have a female hero and seven-page dialogue scenes between two people where the camera doesn't move," she said. "Now, if you'd made that film at Disney, they would have made the girl a boy, and then they would've taken out the dialogue and said, 'Cut to the killer, man! This is a waste of time.'" Added Foster: "But if you take risks, you can actually change things. But you have to change them within the system."

And one thing that she clearly wants to change is the image of women in the movies. She said that the success of features like *The Silence of the Lambs* and *Thelma & Louise* represents a critical advance. "It's a business, a very aggressive business. Once we have women leading a magazine, it's very important for these movies to make money—otherwise it won't happen again."

Wield: Although Foster is deluged with scripts, she has trouble finding even one decent role a year. "Female roles are not written like human beings," she added. "They're written like stereotypes or functions of a script. So instead of sitting around and waiting for it, I try to make it happen. I read every go-proper [a script that has production money behind it]. I know everything that's happening."

Little Man Tate took on a personal significance for Foster. She says that she could not trust anyone else to direct it. "I felt that it would be misdirected in some weird way." As an actress, Foster relies heavily on technical skills rather than becoming absorbed with her character. And as a director, she expected the same from her cast. "My method," she said, "is to tell the story. I don't want the actress to kind of get lost in her mood. I want her to know how we're moving the camera, so a certain way to know all the parts of the language that contribute to the performance." In the end, she found directing easier than acting. "So much of acting is letting go of what you think and accommodating other people," Foster explained. "And that, to me, is much more emotionally exhausting than directing. Being given all the information and having the ultimate voice is so much more relaxing."

In *Little Man Tate*, she finally gets to exercise full responsibility, both on screen—as a mother—and offscreen, as a director. The two roles may not be far apart. "People who know me think I'm very maternal," she said. "When I work, I always feel somebody to take care of because it helps me cope." A child of the movies, Jodie Foster is finally taking charge.

BRUCE D. JOHNSON



Photo: Michael Ochs

Mystery in the fields

Experts study bizarre marks on the ground

Jennifer Slusser says that only aliens could have caused what happened in her wheat field outside of Leitchfield, Ill. Slusser's son-in-law, Cyril Hildbrand, was the first member of the family to spot the strange occurrence on Sept. 1, while harvesting a field. He noticed two 16-foot-wide circles connected by paths to a 24-foot-wide circle. "I don't like it," said Slusser after seeing the site. "There's no tracks, nothing

Crop Circle Studies in London, scientists have documented more than 1,000 so-called circle events in Britain. About half of those have occurred in a 20-square-mile sector of the southern English county of Wiltshire. These, Britons have seen and photographed to assortment of patterns of flattened grass.

Thanks to about the causes of crop circles range from unconfirmed assumptions about extraterrestrial spacecrafts allegedly hovering

in behind the circles "displays an almost limitless inventiveness, an ability to design and redesign." He added, "What the hell it is, what degree of intelligence it exhibits, I wouldn't know."

But whatever their cause, the circles have a strong effect on some of the people who see them. Last summer, Darrell Roth spotted circles in a neighbor's wheat field near Champaign, Ill., 50 km south of Peoria. Roth, 34, the editor and publisher of the Lake-Scott Weekly, a tourist newspaper, said that one circle was between 60 and 70 feet in diameter and that the wheat inside it was completely flattened. Around it was a five-to-five-foot-wide band of wheat that was still standing and, beyond that, another two to three-foot-wide circle in which the wheat had collapsed. Roth said that about 300 yards away, there was a smaller set of circles. "It makes you feel a little bit weird," said Roth. "Persons help but think 'What the heck are you see? when you see something like what I saw.'"



A circle site near Leitchfield: the theories range from human/ wind patterns to extraterrestrial spacecrafts

This has been done from the air somewhere. It makes me nervous." Slusser's is one of at least six mysterious "crop circle sites" that have appeared in southern Illinois fields since Aug. 21. Circles of flattened grass have been reported in hundreds of locations across North America, Britain and Australia. Researchers are baffled by the phenomenon. Says Harlan Anderson, a professor of crop sciences at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon who studied a site near North Battleford, Sask.: "It will tell you one thing—a definitely is not a hoax that what caused it, I don't know."

In Canada, the first crop circles were reported in Langensborg, Sask., in 1974. In the past two years, about 20 more circles have been found in Saskatchewan and Alberta, and more have been reported across the western United States. The largest concentration of circles is in England. According to Ralph Noyes, secretary of the 800-member, year-old Centre for

new agricultural land to scientific explanations involving lightning, magnetic fields and unusual wind patterns. Jean Dixon, a supervisor in the Alberta government's plant-diseases section in Edmonton, offers an agriculturally based theory. He says that a lack of nutrients, such as copper, in the soil could cause grass to collapse under its own weight. Still, the most widely accepted explanation comes from Terence Meaden, director of the Circle Effects Research Group in Bradford-on-Avon, near Bath, England. Meaden, who was once a physics professor at Dalhousie University in Halifax, says that the circles are created by "magical vibrations"—electrically charged spinning balls of air that form when winds flow over hills. According to Meaden, the vibrations sometimes knock-downs heavily in fields, flattening the crops growing there in a circular pattern.

Some other experts offer more fanciful explanations. Noyes, for one, said that whatever

causes the circles are considered a possible cause of the circles. Says Gordon Kight, director of an Edmonton-based group that studies reports of unexplained flying objects: "We could end up tomorrow with a group stepping forward and saying, 'We did it, and here's how we did it.' " After the two crop circles were discovered near Leitchfield last week, Kight collected grass and soil samples from one site and sent them to a provincial laboratory in Edmonton for testing. Still, he says that he suspects some form of intelligent being was involved. "It's so precise and so neat and so normal," Kight added. "It doesn't look like a random act of nature." But the search for the real answers about the mystery so far has taken a circular route.

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BOOKS

A leader's fall

Insiders chronicle David Peterson's defeat

NOT WITHOUT CAUSE
DAVID PETERSON'S FALL FROM GRACE
By Geoffrey Gagnon and Don Rath
(Mayer/Gale, 420 pages, \$27.95)

Days before calling a provincial election in July 1987, then-Ontario Premier Donald Peterson told 130 Liberal candidates attending a party campaign school that he would be there to support them in the upcoming race. It was not an empty cheer: the Liberals went on to win 95 of the legislature's 130 seats on election day, and many candidates readily acknowledged that they owed their own victories to Peterson's long control. When the party's next crop of candidates gathered to hear from the premier on the eve of last year's election call, many were less enthusiastic. "If he tries that line again," said one Toronto candidate going into the 1991 session, "a lot of people are just going to say, 'F--- you.'" That was one vivid

demonstration of how Peterson had come to be viewed as a political liability by some members of his own party. As the time, Liberal strategists held polling data that illustrated at several weaknesses in the premier's standing with the public. Still, as authors Geoffrey Gagnon and Don Rath show in their book on Peterson's fall from power, *Not Without Cause*, campaign planners usually decided once again to make Peterson the centerpiece of the party's election drive.

That was just one of the mistakes that the authors point to in their thorough chronicle of the Liberals' disastrous campaign. The party blew a 20-point lead in the polls and lost 57 seats one year ago this week, allowing the New Democratic Party under Bob Rae to win its first-ever majority government in Canada's most populous province.

Gagnon, a lawyer, and Rath, a former *London Free Press* journalist, worked on the political staffs of Liberal ministers between 1987

and 1990. They say that Peterson, 47, was the victim of several factors: a Liberal campaign team paralyzed by infighting; its failure to provide a strong platform; a clearly reserved reticence for calling an election only three years into a five-year mandate; well-orchestrated protests by special-interest groups; and a public perception that the premier had become detached and lacked an agenda.

While Gagnon and Rath shed new light on the minutiae among Peterson's senior adviser campaign team—which included Ray Street, lawyer and campaign chairman Kathy Robinson, consultant David MacKinnon and pollster Martin Goldfarb—their insiders' account offers little insight into the campaign's major mistakes or its lack of a compelling narrative. As well, Gagnon and Rath—perhaps because they lived through the campaign as part of the Liberal government—sometimes accept the analyses of former colleagues at face value, rather than subjecting them to rigorous analysis.

The authors write that Peterson called an early election because of last year's losses of the Meach Lake accord—a deal that he supported. In response to the accord's collapse, the Quebec government demanded two points to draft new constitutional demands for the province by 1991. Peterson told the authors that an election held in that year in Ontario would have become a referendum on Quebec's place in Canada—"ripe for oversimplified politics with a racist overtones." As a result, he said privately, he called an early election to avoid "irrepa-

vable harm" to national unity. At the same time, the authors state that Peterson could not cite this concern publicly in explaining the early election because "he feared that would antagonize and alienate Quebecers."

Gagnon and Rath leave the impression that Peterson made a political miscalculation by publicly clinging to a vague rationale for calling the election—the need for a new mandate to deal with economic uncertainties. Throughout the campaign, commentators and the opposition ridiculed that explanation, effectively branding Peterson an opportunist who had called the election simply because the Liberals needed a high lead in the polls.

But that concern-for-Quebec interpretation by the authors does not fit with their assertion earlier in *Not Without Cause* that Peterson, in fact, ordered Liberal election preparations at least seven months before the failure of the Meach Lake accord for a variety of reasons. Also, it was clear to many reporters who covered the campaign that Peterson did not make the Meach collapse or national unity a dominant issue, merely because his strategists told him that his support as an ally of Quebec was unpopular with Ontario voters—a naive quite distant from accuracy in national discourse. The authors mention that elec-



Peterson: his election drive trust was shaken

most only as joking: "They [the strategists] all understood . . . the numbers clearly told people did not like his position on Meach."

Peterson capitulated to his advisers' expedient tactic on that issue, but they did not prove very valuable to others because of infighting. Gagnon and Rath say that the low point in relations among Robinson and her colleagues came on the heels of a story about Liberal campaign preparations that was published in *Maclean's* two weeks before the election call. "In Robinson," the authors write, "the story represented a look at the highest order on the eve of an election, portions of the government's campaign strategy along with polling results known only to a privileged few were turning up in a national magazine." To avoid further leaks, Robinson stopped sharing vital polling data with Peterson's other advisers. One strategist, Senator Michael Kirby, told the authors that Robinson's decision was "devastating because, more than any other single activity, it destroyed the campaign." Putting a hole in elections and inside of protesters at nearly every campaign stop, the last thing that Peterson needed was a leaked election strategy.

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HEALTH

Stress and death

Smoking may be only a partial cause of illness

According to widely accepted medical wisdom, an overweight man who smokes, drinks too much alcohol and has a family history of heart disease runs a high risk of developing the Klinefelter syndrome. As well, scientists have concluded that smokers stand a much greater risk of developing lung cancer than nonsmokers. But now, a respected British researcher has questioned an alternative theory. In a recently published book, Hans Eysenck writes that some populations show the causes of cancer and heart disease are closely associated. In *Smoking, Personality and Stress*, Eysenck, a professor of psychology at the University of London's Institute of Psychiatry, contends that personality and stress are at least as important as smoking and diet in causing cancer and heart disease. Writes Eysenck: "Personality and stress appear to be as important as smoking in the statistical correlation between disease and risk factors."

In one of his studies, Eysenck, who neither



Smokers: challenging accepted wisdom

drinks nor smokes, divided 1,383 people between the ages of 50 and 70 into four groups. Type 1 people are those who tend to depend on someone else for their happiness, and who feel stress because of their inability to cope with that dependence. Type 2 people experience stress and anger because they feel that a person on whom they are "helplessly dependent" is making them unhappy. Type 3 alternates between the feelings of Type 1 and 2, while Type 4 people do not allow themselves to become overly dependent on others.

An examination of mortality rates 10 years later produced dramatic findings. More than 48 per cent of Type 1 people had died of cancer, compared with 5.6 per cent of Type 2 and less than two per cent of types 3 and 4. Nearly 38 per cent of Type 3 died of heart disease, compared with 8.3 per cent of Type 1, 9.2 per cent of Type 2 and 1.7 per cent of Type 4.

Because after 10 years almost 91 per cent of the Type 4 individuals were still alive, Eysenck suggests that a person's influence over fate by learning to better cope with stress. But some specialists say that Eysenck's theories are flawed. Neil Louis Sutherland, director of the Samuel Lunenfeld Medical Research Institute at Toronto's Mount Sinai Hospital, "The link between smoking and cancer and smoking and heart disease has been validated over and over again." Still, Eysenck's findings indicate that those diseases may involve entangled factors that some scientists may have overlooked.

NORA UNDERWOOD

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The Schachtelweilers with their children, Gregory and Stefan. Discrimination

JUSTICE

A couple's revolt

The suit challenges Canadian tax law

Not long after the birth of his first child in August, 1988, Walter Schachtelweiler learned that having a baby would be once more expensive than he had thought. While preparing his 1988 tax return, Schachtelweiler discovered that he and his wife, Elise, were eligible for tax credits worth \$1,200, but would have claimed them if they were married and living together. He contends that their tax bills for the past two years have been \$4,200 higher than they would have been as single people living together. Last week, the Familien couple appeared in court to challenge, under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the legality of what the Schachtelweilers claim is a Revenue Canada discriminatory treatment of married couples.

The Schachtelweilers began their battle two years ago, shortly after they filed their 1988 tax returns. Although victorious, Revenue Canada's refusal to accept their appeal, the couple are now taking the federal Income Tax Act to court, claiming that it discriminates against married couples de-

finitely, contrary to the charter's provision of equal treatment under the law. At the hearing before the Tax Court of Canada, Marvin Hirschman, the lawyer representing the Schachtelweilers, argued that 2.6 million Canadian couples are paying an average of \$3,305 extra in taxes every year simply because they are married. Said Schachtelweiler: "We're asking that the benefit be shared equally by all couples who are capable of paying. I'm going to stand up for my rights as father, how much it costs me."

The specific section of the Income Tax Act that the Schachtelweilers are challenging is the so-called equivalent-dependent tax credit. It allows a person who is single, separated, divorced or widowed to claim the \$400 tax credit for every child or adult he supports, if the dependent has an income of less than \$4,000. Married couples are unable to claim the credit.

According to Schachtelweiler, there are two other sections of the Income Tax Act that discriminate against married people. One is the

child tax credit, which reduces federal tax by up to \$585 per child for people earning \$24,515 or less. The other is the Goods and Services Tax credit, which provides for refunds of up to \$100 of the GST paid by individuals whose income is below \$24,500. In both cases, a married couple must report the combined income of both partners when determining whether they qualify for these credits, while common-law partners face no such requirement. Tax experts say that if the partners in a common-law relationship were required to report combined income, many would be ineligible for the tax credits because total household income would exceed the level beyond which they are not entitled to claim the credits. Schachtelweiler claims that this discriminatory treatment of married couples would cost her and his wife \$204,000 by the time his two children, who are now one and three years old, reach the age of 18.

During an all-day hearing before Judge Robert Roux, who is expected to hear his decision in several weeks, Hirschman presented an article from a Statistics Canada publication to support the Schachtelweilers' case. The article, in the summer, 1991, issue of *Canadian Social Trends*, says: "Most married-couple families have lower disposable incomes than unmarried couples living together in similar circumstances. On average, unmarried couples appear to fare better under the income tax system than married couples." Written by Richard Manning, a policy analyst with Health and Welfare Canada, and Jillean Oberlander, an assistant editor of the publication, the article argues that the different methods of calculating the equivalent-dependent credit, the child tax credit and several other credits, including the guaranteed income supplement, create discrepancies in disposable income.

In a three-hour argument on behalf of Revenue Canada, federal justice department lawyer David Chisholm maintained that the tax credits are designed to assist lower-income Canadians, particularly single parents. He argued that the benefits accruing to common-law couples were an accidental side effect and that the use of these benefits has not been determined. He also argued that some tax credits are available only to married couples.

For his part, David Perry, senior research associate with the Toronto-based Canadian Tax Foundation, says that the benefits to common-law couples appear to be a loophole in the law. He added that the unintended benefits contradict the purpose of the tax credits, which is to help less affluent Canadians. But he also noted that the Income Tax Act does not recognize common-law relationships, largely because they are too hard to define for legal purposes. He added that a legal definition of common-law relationships would have to deal with siblings, unrelated individuals and homosexual couples who are sharing the same residence. "Like gets like-raising when you make all these changes," he said, "and you may lose just such a complex task if the disputed provisions are ruled unconstitutional."

PATRIC JENSEN

PEOPLE

DIAMONDS ARE FOREVER

Toronto Blue Jays third baseman Kelly Gruber knows how to handle more than live drives and hard-breaking curve balls. In his new autobiography, *At Home on Third*, written with veteran sportswriter Kevin Reiland, Gruber reveals that he was in Colom-



Graben formed more
and hot springs

100%

ble on the right his grandmother died in 1983. And he had on-southside experiences. Writes Gruber: "I could see my heart beating, really see it on the ceiling." He added: "It couldn't have been more real." But right now, he says that baseball is faraway. Declared Gruber, 20, "September rolls around, and the fever just gets better."



Flowchart illustrating

Versatile and modest

Last year, actress **Michelle Pfeiffer** followed her Oscar-nominated performance as a sexy lounge singer in *The Fabulous Baker Boys* by playing a plane-junkie Wisconsin book editor opposite **Naseb Khasraw** in *The Atomic Heart*. Next month, she co-stars with **Al Pacino** in the surreal *Frankie and Johnny*, in which she plays a femme, middle-aged New York City waitress who has given up on love. But despite her above-average vulnerability, the actress acknowledges that she still suffers from bouts of insecurity. Said Pfeiffer, 34: "I still think people will find out that I'm really not very good. It's all just being a big sham."

Plasmodium infections

Coming of age

In the 1960s, the name **Twiggy** was synonymous with the mini-skirt. Now 41, the English model-turned-actress has added a last name: Twiggy Lawson, she says, makes her sound like "more of a human being instead of a sex symbol." Starring this fall, she stars in a TV sitcom called *Princesses*, about three women sharing a posh New York City penthouse apartment. Although her image is still linked to the 1960s, the actress says that she is only now coming to terms with that turbulent decade. Added Lawson: "That 'Swarm' thing was as much a shock to me as it was to everyone else."



LAWSON: more of a human being

1

*Just another
country boy*

Country singer Roy Rogers says that his long-standing downhome image is a genuine reflection of his character: Saul Rogers, whose latest album, *Tricks*, will be released on Oct. 4. "I'm like Popeye—I am what I am." But with

Tribute, the 79-year-old Rogers gets some high-powered help from his friends. The album includes songs by country stars Willie Nelson, Randy Travis, Clint Black and The Oak Ridge Boys. His wife, Duke Evans, age 78, joins him for the couple's signature song, *Happy Trails* to you.

Engage: I see what I see



100

Fog, indeed, Rogers, whose career includes appearances in more than 90 movies as well as a TV show of his own in the 1950s, says that he took on the project only because it gave him the chance to sing with other top country music stars. Declared the singing cowboy: "I got to sing with some guys I really admire. The whole bunch was just terrific."

A GRADUAL RECOVERY

Reiss Gauthier says that last month's edition being long continues to take its personal toll. In her first interview since the coup, she told a Soviet newspaper: "Agutis and again, I'm reliving what happened." Gorbachev, 57, went into seclusion following her three days in captivity, giving rise to speculation that she had suffered a stroke. But she described her illness as "an acute hypertension crisis that was accompanied by a speech disorder." Meanwhile, her publishers last week released the Soviet first lady's autobiography, *I Began Reminiscences and Reflections*. Written before the coup, the book has become a foretaste of the August revolution. In it, she recalls that earlier this summer her husband remarked "We've not a difficult time ahead of us."

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OPENS SEPTEMBER 13 AT SELECTED THEATRES



The vicious cycle of Canadian meanness

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

There was a time, as all Terrell Punters will know, when Turkey was known as the Sick Man of Europe. It was not too long ago when Britain—"nation of shop stewards"—altered the label. Extending the metaphor, we are now into what is known as the Canadian Disease.

The Canadian Disease, as anyone who has been outside the country for up to 36 seconds knows, is a nasty, chest-pumping attitude to life. It is a casual approach, lacking and disparaging, a look backward rather than forward.

Canadians who strive for the best are regarded (we can take Anne Murray as an example here) as really second-rate because they have never made it to The Big—the Ecclesiastical State of America. When they do head north (we can take Anne Murray as an example here), the chest-pumpers then think she has got too big for her boots and who does she think she is anyway?

The whole country suffers from penis envy. The other day one Clive Hay, the professional Melanocyte-hater, had a whine in the largest paper in the land, the *Liberal* house organ, diagnosed as *The Toronto Star*. This particular whine was pegged on the fact that some selector is going to do a book on Miss Marlowe, a traitor that will be quite ready to be put to rest.

Hay said this amazing fact justified books apparently never having been written since Gutenberg to return to her familiar rant about Miss having an office of her own with a small staff. Here is the Canadian Disease. It is 1991, women are supposedly responsible for their own actions and are growing up adults, and the wife of the prime minister of an advanced country is persecuted because she acts as something other than a housewife.

The fact that her husband happens to be an incompetent at running the country has nothing to do with it. The fact that Miss Marlowe gets tons of mail, requests coming out of her ears about appearances, involves herself in charities and otherwise acts as the wife of the Prime Minister should, apparently, be the eyes of the Canadian Disease merchants such



as Hay, hears her from (among someone to answer the phone and read the cardstock).

The American press has recently been chewing away at John Sununu, the George Bush chief of staff, for his generous use of White House airplanes, now known as Air Sununu. *The New Republic*, a small and useful journal, has pointed out that the loving (wrong) over Sununu obscures the reality of "all the president's jets."

The most powerful man in the world is cosseted by a massive cushion of comfort and ease that would make the Canadian Disease merchants boggle and reel. There are 96 full-time bodies on the White House staff, from clerks to doormen to gladiators to bellhops. There are four forests, four calligraphers. There is a travelling man who samples at the president's food to make sure he isn't poisoned (if 34 Sununu doesn't have an equivalent, they perhaps might hire one right quick.)

For those who can't make it to Camp David, White House aides have the choice of special resort houses at Wynter, Virginia. North Carolina and the Virgin Islands—at rates that soar up to \$90 a day for a party of four. Bush caterdages lunching a block away from the White House have a limo waiting outside after the coffin.

The new Air Force One, a 8081 Scimitar Boeing 747, has a computer centre, an operating room for emergency surgery, 86 phones and 23 crew members to serve 70 passengers. Bush has just installed a six-hole putting green on the White House grounds to go along with his handball pit.

The point is that the American public doesn't care. The boss man deserves to be cosseted—since due to assassinations, impeachments, scandals, uprisings and wormholes, there wasn't a single president between Ike Eisenhower in the Fifties and Ronnie Reagan in the Eighties who lasted two terms. They know it's a tough job.

Our second example (they come every 10 minutes) of the Canadian Disease came the other day on the CBC's *Newsworld*, which is useful but populated by too many fancy-faced young neophytes. This fancy face, recounting the results from the world track and field championships in Tokyo, told of how Carl Lewis had just broken the world record in the 100-m dash and a Canadian, Brian Sutt, from Montreal had finished "dead last."

There is the Canadian Disease incarnate. *Dead last!* One gets the impression of some struggling hero, beyond sight, down the track at the end of a marathon. The Tokyo race was the fastest sprint in history. Six of the eight finalists finished under 10 seconds, all of them within a whisper of the world record, a bit of the head, a bit of the horse away from victory. Lewis finished in 9.98 seconds.

Sutt, a young and growing phenom who had just proved he is one of the fastest eight men in the world, finished in 10.14 after setting a Canadian record with a 10.07 in a semifinal. That means he was 14 one-hundredths of a second behind the magic six who finished the fastest race ever.

Brian Sutt, the strap-free kid who has replaced the pitifully misnamed Ben Johnson as Canada's candidate among the world's best, finished 26 one-hundredths of a second behind world record-holder Carl Lewis. He was "trail-ing" by all of a quarter-second. And the CBC, the state-owned Mother Corp., tells us he was "dead last."

That, my friends, is the Canadian Disease. I rest my case.



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